

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL?

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Section

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL?

A STUDY IN GOSPEL ORIGINS

BY
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"My Little Comrade of the Way"

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INTRODUCTION

- I. A LETTER TO THE DEAN OF LETTERS.
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I

A LETTER TO THE DEAN OF LETTERS

DEAR SIR:

The Republic of Letters has a reputation for hospitality and a laurel for every deserving brow. In such a faith I seek to bring to your attention the formal utterances of a great literary Master. If Literature be the worthy expression of ideas through the medium of formal language, then has my Hero a claim to your interest. Hitherto He has been acclaimed as a Master of oracular and vocal expression; and in this capacity His genius has stamped itself on twenty centuries and many races, until His utterances have become almost as basic to our common thinking as have the facts and similes of nature herself. In this respect, Jesus of Nazareth has no compeer; the ratio of proverb and moral axiom to the totality of His teaching is marvelous. In part this is due to the supreme position accorded Him; yet far more to the clarity of expression, the vigor of truth, the insight into human need, and the enduring simplicity of His chosen likenesses.

But the secret of this mastery has not been

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sufficiently probed. Much of it was spontaneous; yet spontaneity tends to prolixity, and its point is too often of particular perception rather than universal. In addition to this natural genius was the careful mastery of form, until instinct and art merged in a beautiful unity. This was the more natural because the prosody of His people was primarily a matter of thought form rather than verbal. Parallelism of thought in relations of resemblance, contrariety, expansion or cause afforded opportunity for the subtle expression of all resemblance in diversity; it tended to clear the idea by setting it in these relations to other ideas; it afforded opportunity for a variation of fancy and a play of symbols that possesses a distinct fascination. It is this independence of thought from the vocal elements of language that constitutes the superiority of Hebrew Poetry. The measures of the Iliad, or of Sophocles, are lost to all save scholars; the quantities of syllabic structure which Vergil knew are scarcely appreciated; while the rhythmic beat of accent of the Teutonic peoples is a near Barbarism to the sunny South folk. But thought-rhythm is appreciable to all. Its masterful use accounts for the wonderful attractiveness of the Psalms, makes Isaiah the best read of the prophets, and must be reckoned an element in the power of Jesus to interpret spiritual truth.

A LETTER TO THE DEAN OF LETTERS

Here, then, is the proposition—that Jesus of Nazareth was a Poet, mastering the intricacies of prosody and feeling the thrill of poetic genius, adequately matching a thought with word symbols and sending forth the twain in immutable wedlock. This has been hinted in a thousand essays;* but as yet His Oracles have failed of presentation with due emphasis upon this formal element. They have been obscured by rendition into a dialect, different in construction and in vocabulary. But the thought-rhythm affords a clue by which this foreign element can be eliminated, and we can then detect the pattern in which the original strands were woven. Here was poetry reduced to prose; the vase broken while the fine aroma escaped. Could any hope to cement the vessel into worthy form again?

In so attempting there is something of a sacrilege. The forms of our English Bible come to us through such a crucible of martyr fire as to give them a special sanctity of their own. As we have them they are no one man's work: but wrought out by a certain cosmic process of trial by a whole people—here attrition and there favor; here rejection and there development—until on the foundation of Tyndale's masterly work arose the fabric of the Westminster version. But much more has sacred

*Note 1

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eloquence, the tender memory of promises tried, the interpretations of scholars and of circumstances endeared them, word for word, through now three centuries to our hearts. Contributory to our developing speech more than Shakespeare and Bacon united, the words and phrases have, as we may say, a sanctity of their own, and before this as a shrine, have I with you, and all else who reverence language and spirit in language, bowed ourselves.

If only we could win back to the very words of the Master, the terse Aramaean* of the common folk, I doubt not beauties would be revealed that would make that forgotten dialect a classic. But lacking this possibility I have held only to the thought-rhythm, balancing the lines as they marched with their partners, two, three, or four abreast, in the evolutions of wonderful poems. In this new form I invite you to attend to the Master Oracles of the greatest soul that was ever earth-born. Accord Him His due in the World of Letters, the crown which has long since been His in the realm of human hearts.

*Note 2.

II

AN EPISTLE TO A MASTER OF DIVINITY

MY DEAR PROFESSOR:

I have hailed you as a Master of theological science, because there is no turn of doctrinal development which you have not duly pondered; the great systems of theological thought are each labeled and duly set in your mental museum. Yet the present trend is away from theory and formalism to the data of science. You have been quick to discover this in spiritual psychology, the mysterious realm but dimly lighted for us, and difficult and uncertain by reason of man's incapacity for self-revelation, and his fellow's inability to conduct an exact analysis of the mental and spiritual processes of others.

But how, if one were to read himself aright, and were brilliantly able to express to others what he read? And how, further, if this one chanced to be, of all the race, the one whose obvious spiritual attainments constituted the master phenomenon of history? Then we should, I take it, seize upon these elemental con-

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fessions as data fundamental to any interpretations of spiritual reality; we should ponder them as foundation stones of the cathedral of theology; we should cherish them as the primal elements of sacred hope. Such is the significance of this book.

Except for oracular utterance here and there, some inferences from precept and prayer, indeterminate suggestions in colloquy, or occasional cryptic expressions, the utterances of Jesus preserved by the Synoptic Gospels are largely objective. We are not let into the temple of His soul. But the Fourth Gospel presents the subjective side. Hence has raged the battle at its gates; it has alternately been stripped of meaning, called forgery or romance, and anon exalted to primacy by reason of Apostolic authority. But the real basis of this Gospel appears to be in certain self-interpreting Poems, originating in the mind and from the hand of Jesus. So that if we can attain to their original balance and structure we have a rich contribution to the data of theological science. Doubtless much of purging and testing is necessary before the pure elements are available; but the idea that these Poems are original with Jesus must give a new medium for interpretation and light the mystery of His personality with the fire of His genius.

How apt are the forms of Hebrew Poetry

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for the function of self-interpretation; a declaration of mood is made, and then balanced with a further statement; and consequent upon these a kindred pair, each limiting, guarding, illustrating and applying the other. Nothing could be finer or better. And this group of poems, scarcely the equal of a single Canto of an Epic, represents not a single mood, but is the expression of a score of conditions and of as many mental attitudes. It is as the facets of a gem, that flash back the divine light from any angle.

The fact that it is verse, figure, rhythm, means caution against the interpretation of its phrases as strict theological formula. The expressive figure of the “New Birth” gains in spiritual power what it loses as a doctrinal expression; and so of a score of other passages which our fathers loved to connote. But the totality of the revelation is authoritative, conclusive, leaving no question as to the inner convictions of the soul whom our race has exalted to Lordship. All questions of His own estimate of Himself sink to rest; He makes clear the scope of His power, the measure of His mission, and the hopeful realities which lie beyond the shadows.

These considerations are a sufficient justification for major attention to the problem of the Fourth Gospel. But from the critical point of view the urgency is even greater. This Gospel

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is the one reluctant element in the Apostolic Age; the various hypotheses as to its origin have failed of conviction, until many scholars have thought the problem to be insoluble in the existing state of knowledge. The application of a new critical instrument has always possibilities of great value. I leave it to your judgment how far these potentialities become realities in the present treatise. I ask no more than a judgment which esteems novelty on the basis of its power to clarify data, and to assimilate the exception to the general laws of its class.

III

A MESSAGE TO A FELLOW CHRISTIAN

DEAR BROTHER:

We are one in a common discipleship, so I bring you what I have learned concerning the Master's thought; there is in it something new, yet its main importance is its new emphasis upon the old. Each age develops its own forms of spiritual culture, and always there is pang and strain when the old forms yield to the new; these are the growing pains of Christian consciousness, which retains its identity through all its varied manifestations. Through some such experience are we passing now; it is an emergence from old cultural forms that have abundantly helped the souls of men, but for one or another reason have now a lessening power to do so.

Chief among these reasons is an actual change in the human mind itself, both in the content and in the form of its knowledge. The mental attitudes of the modern man greatly vary from those of his progenitors of the previous century, yet religious forms received their last

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important modification in that period. There have, indeed, been developments, some important, and here and there a grafting upon the cultus that has come down to us; but no apprehending of new principles of spiritual culture. Consequently, while we are conscious of the loosening of the old, we do not fully perceive that to which it is yielding.

It is at this point that this book may possess a special value, enabling, as it does, the appropriation of the method used by our Lord Himself in His matchless pedagogy. Jesus was Himself the inspiration of His immediate disciples—the power of His character, the magnetism of His personality, the engrossing charm of His presence. Something of this is preserved for us in the apt reminiscences of the faithful, and yet more in His own measured utterances. No other individual has succeeded in an equal degree in projecting his personality across the centuries; and this apart from the mystic response which divinity makes to the enlarging perceptions of the human soul. But aside from the winsomeness of Jesus, radiant constantly from His person, was the method used by Him in His accepted character of Teacher. This, in brief, was the careful expression in the form of Logia, Parables, or Lyrics of the truth He wished to communicate, and these by repetition were impressed upon the

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minds of The Twelve, who constituted His permanent class, and such others as the accident of circumstance made His auditors. Then, on the basis of such oracles, followed exposition, query, comment, colloquy, bringing the truth home to the hearts and minds of all. So much stress did He lay upon this mode that He repeatedly exhorted His disciples to remember His Logia, and associated with such acts of memory His largest blessings.

To get the thought of Jesus into the mind of the Age is our task and should be our program. To this end there is no better way than actually to commit to memory His sayings, to the end that they may be available at all times for our ponderings. It was in some such way that Homer became the dominant formative influence in Greek education, until the ideal of every lad was to emulate the brilliant Achilles and of every elder to attain to the wisdom of the traveled Ulysses. But the works of Homer far out-page the relicts of Jesus. It should be possible for us to fix in mind the totality of His formal utterance, which bulks less than a single drama of Shakespeare.* Yet how largely do they touch life, the innermost tragedies of the soul, the manifest ethics of human company, the upward reachings of the heart—they even illuminate the Great Beyond. Rich, incompar-

* Note 3.

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ably rich in heart, life, and spiritual power would that soul be who had apprehended the teaching of Jesus.

I have sought to serve somewhat in unraveling from their complicated textual association, and in presenting in something of their original form, THE POEMS OF JESUS. Approached in such a spirit, with critical issues laid aside, and performance mellowed by the confessed intention, I trust that many may find the fulfillment of promise—

“If you abide in Me,
And My words abide in you,
You shall ask what you will,
And it shall be done to you.”

PART ONE
PROLEGOMENA

- I. GOSPEL LITERATURE AS THE PRODUCT OF ITS AGE.
- II. INTERPOLATIONS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.
- III. THE COMPOSITION OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.
- IV. CHARACTER AND SCOPE OF HEBREW POETRY.-

I

GOSPEL LITERATURE AS THE PRODUCT OF ITS AGE

ALL literature is vitally related to the age in which it is produced. Any mind which seeks to express itself has gained its content from contact with the elements of its time. Not even the recluse poring over forgotten tomes can escape this Law. For this forgotten lore is a possession of his time, and his interpretation and application of it are determined by the thousand things in his personal experience with men and things which have sent him to his task. But in the open, where human contact is intentional, where there is a desire to mingle with the factors of the time and to feel the pulsings of its great forces, even to add a little to their effect, the Law becomes a commonplace.

It is well, however, to call this truth to mind, because in the case of the literature presently to be considered the attempt has been made to withdraw it from these relations and to consider it as exempt from the ordinary influences of its time. This dehumanizing of a document in the interests of a theory has this penalty, that

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it can not afterwards be rehumanized, and so given again its real power over the minds of men; it remains an anomaly in experience. But whatever its origin, a literature depends for its circulation upon its appeal to the human mind; and thus the second phase of the Law becomes operative. The occult drops from prominence because of its lack of appeal. Who would attend to the painful labor of copying documents in which no one was interested? and if the documents be few and far between, the vicissitudes of passing time would soon eliminate them from what little currency they possessed. Thus a human interest was essential to the preservation of literature of any character.

It is possible to approach the particular problem of the Gospel Literature through an examination of the facts of circulation, which, in turn, divides itself into two general inquiries—the one dealing with the production of copies, and the other with their circulation.

The ancient copyist had a choice of material, but in a very limited degree. He might, where the character of the production and its probable disposal seemed to warrant it, make use of parchment of varying degrees of fineness. But he would not do this at a venture, or without a sure return. The initial cost of the material was prohibitive of its free use; and the care

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required in copying, both from the higher standard of its ultimate possessors, and the nature of the material itself would greatly protract and add to the cost of the finished document. On the other hand, such a document, once produced, would have a much greater likelihood of survival. The material itself was practically indestructible by the agencies of time, while its value in the opinion of an owner would lead to care in its preservation.

For ordinary purposes the material used would be papyrus. But while common enough for all the uses of an illiterate age, the actual cost was by no means inconsiderable. It came in several varieties, some of which were of little value for matters requiring preservation. On the whole it was widely used, and the demand must have so over-reached the supply as to maintain the prices beyond the purses of ordinary men, for ordinary uses. Current accounts, memoranda were kept on shells or bits of pottery, or any adequate surface which permitted their erasure, and so their perennial use. Thus papyrus was really a book paper.

The shrewd economy of the East presently found it possible to erase from the papyrus the previous writing, and thus present a fair surface for the copying that which seemed of greater value. So currently was this done that

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the palimpsest became a regular article of stationery and provided the copyist with his cheapest material. Certainly its use would indicate either the light estimate of the message or else the limited purse of its purchaser—precisely the material for a popular edition.

But, having his material in hand, the actual work of copying would prove an extensive task. Even to-day a good penman would feel that a thousand words an hour would task his powers, day after day, and this with the flowing character of our script and the excellence of the implements employed. For the ancient scribe these conditions were entirely lacking. The characters were formed by distinct strokes, his writing material was often recalcitrant, while its value urged caution lest it should be marred by error. Thus slowly he built his expert work into the final cost of the production. Even on the basis of wage for wage, it is clear that many days' wages would be required of the purchaser before an extensive document would become his own.

For the most part the documents were written in the familiar form of scrolls.* The use of separate leaves had been introduced, and in some cases would prove a convenience. So the copyist inscribed his matter in narrow

* Note 4.

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columns, one or two of which would be before the eye as the reader unrolled with one hand and rolled the read portions with the other. If the copyist relied upon his vision as he copied, there was a plentiful chance for confusion, as between columns, and even greater as between the short lines. He made no distinction of words, but kept on crowding as many letters as space permitted into each of his lines, and frequently each line as close to its predecessor as a distinction of sense would allow. For was not each inch of space valuable, and, therefore, to be utilized to the best advantage? Between his columns he did allow some waste, but this was due to the exigencies of the scroll. It may be noted, in passing, that such intercolumnar spaces would, by their very convenience, afford an incentive to interpolation.

The actual production of copies would reside in the hands of men who had made writing their principal work in life; every village would boast its scribe; but in many cases he would, indeed, be a poor artist. There must be a sufficient demand for such work in order to develop excellence. The local needs of a small village, while imperative when they arose, were, none the less, but limited in scope. In the cities there would be several men devoted to such tasks, and doubtless any of them fully

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competent to transcribe any copy set before them. Their work would be impersonal; to them letters were but letters, no matter what wondrous sentiment they might express. Work would be done almost always to order, and seldom or never as a venture dependent upon future sale. They would have their shop upon the public street, where wondering illiterates might observe their curious skill. Each commission would be a task of public knowledge. Generally these would be confined to the matter of personal communication with distant persons or the drawing up of commercial agreements. Only occasionally would some one come with a bit of literature to be copied. In such a case his original might be mutilated or so worn as to make but indifferent copy, hence the probability of error in its transcription. Humanly speaking it would be impossible to produce an absolutely accurate transcription. This, however, would be a matter of little concern to the employer, for a liberty of spelling and the lack of distinction in words would make it impractical for him to check the work in detail. Fine distinctions of that sort were not in vogue. A change of tense, a confused declension, the end of a word construed as the beginning of another—these were little things as compared with the style of the script and the artistic effect of the production. Even in

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sacred things a jot or a tittle might easily drop from the Law.

Such possibilities were further accentuated by differences in alphabet which chanced to be in vogue. There was a splendid angular capitalized character which required no little skill on the part of the user. It is evident that letter characters of this type would greatly protract the process, and hence were adapted only to work of unusual value and importance. But following this general type was a modified character, more easily written, and, in consequence, more easily confused both in the writing and the reading. It had, however, a great popularity, and for a time dominated the situation. In due course the increased demand for writing led to the development of a greatly differing character. This was the cursive or flowing style, by which is meant the writing continuously without lifting the pen from the paper, so merging letter into letter and word into word. The introduction and consequent popularity of the cursive writing had the effect of cheapening the cost of documents, for much greater progress could be made in a given time. Thus, together with the papyrus or the palimpsest, the cost of production was so lowered that it may be said to have made literature accessible to an altogether new public, quite as in a later age the publication of cheap editions of the

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classics found a ready welcome. But since the minimizing of the cost thus became a great consideration, the care in the production was less attended to—even gross errors were allowed to creep in. Such productions would have little or no critical value.

A reading public having been developed by these ministrations, great publishing houses arose to take advantage of the market. Their methods were admirably adapted to the requirements of the time. In some adequate hall, a number of scribes would be assembled. Generally these were educated slaves, for the fortunes of war respected neither blood nor heritage, and frequently a master would be surpassed in intelligence and culture by some slave in his household. Epictetus and Onesimus sufficiently attest this situation. The attainments of a hundred servile scribes thus assembled for literary purposes would of course vary; some among them would be proficient in the highest degree; others, the beginners and the dolts, would make but a sorry mess of their work. To these scribes some clear-voiced reader would intone the passage for inscription, and each penman would follow as best his circumstances and training permitted. They wrote no longer by the eye, each setting his own pace, and at liberty to reassure himself on a doubtful point; but now they depended entirely on their

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hearing and were denied opportunity to correct their misconceptions. Everything was calculated to emphasize the individuality of the copyist—quickness of ear, mobility in conception, and ease of hand would produce a text that might be highly prized. Such a writer would be favored with the best material for writing, to him would be given the preferable place before the Lector; but for the poor and deficient scribe the cheapest of material and the least-favored place would suffice. Naturally enough there would be a wide difference in the results. Yet such cheap editions would sell the most readily, and would, in turn, become the basis for pirated editions, to circulate among an even poorer public.

There were, then, three main ways for the multiplication of copies of any work of literature. The first was by such copying as an individual might do for himself, or as a favor for his neighbors; but this process would be slow and inadequate; it would be long, indeed, before a sufficient number had been produced to have any measurable effect upon the publishing interests. It might, indeed, be the case that an author's manuscript would be privately circulated, affording a few friends an opportunity to make a copy for themselves. Such copies might, at a later period, become the bases of public circulation. In such a case their diver-

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gencies would be fundamental and would be but multiplied in the further course of promulgation. The second stage would be reached when the demand had become sufficiently strong to justify recourse to the local scribe. These manuscripts would then possess the peculiarities not only of the individual but of the locality as well. When, then, such copies had been carried to a far country they might readily at points be misinterpreted, and in any case would in subsequent edition partake of the characteristics of the strange land. So in due course the West would differ from the East.* When by such stages a book had attained to a measure of popularity so as to evidence a steady demand, and to justify its promulgation upon a large scale, the publishing interests would take it in hand, with the result that all corruption of preceding times would be overshadowed by the destructiveness of this process. So in the end the *textus receptus* of a popular book would differ greatly on many points from the original; and even the latest edition would be devoid of agreement among its several copies. Yet to the ordinary mind these later texts would be more acceptable than the archaic originals. In part this would be because the new is ever a successful competitor with the old; but the even

* Note 5.

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more solid reason of greater legibility would favor its sale. Handwriting changed in those days, even as with the moderns the Spencerian yielded for a while to the business modes, and these to the vertical. One who attempts to read the manuscripts of even a half century since finds himself greatly impeded until custom has come to his aid; while the passage of three centuries has put the contemporaries of Shakespeare at the mercy of the cryptologist. With such examples in recent experience it is possible to allow for the motives which operated in the reduction of many a fair document into a palimpsest; and, indeed, to be thankful for the process, for only thus and by the reviving power of chemistry have numerous important survivals of antiquity been secured for the modern world.

Thus the earlier generations of documents tended to pass into obscurity, giving place to descendant whose purity and worth were increasingly doubtful. This was, however, the Law of Transmission, from which there was no escape. Occasionally an enlightened man might seek copies of high antiquity and do something for the restoration of the original text; but unless the motive were indeed strong little would be accomplished. Even under the most favorable conditions it would be impossible to displace the corrupt copies; so that the

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critically edited text would but serve as a new point of departure, grafting a new branch upon the genealogical tree, and ultimately complicating the relationship.

Such were the general conditions affecting the circulation of literature. They arose out of the limitations of the time, and were in no sense to be avoided. An occasional text might be less subject to these variations. A type of literature that appealed to the memory would, in the hands of sympathetic copyists, measurably escape these influences. But when the greatest allowance has been made, it is evident that at the distance of three centuries there would be wide divergence from the original.

The force of this analysis and its application to the present problem lies in this: So far as men know there is extant no copy of the Gospels of an earlier transcription than three centuries after the events which are recorded. For the most part such copies as exist are of an even later date. These show all the variations which the conditions of the time would lead us to expect. On an average there is a variation for every verse in the narrative. These variations are traceable to various causes, so that every influence outlined above is traceable in one or another of the copies which now exist. The Gospels ran the whole gamut of transcriptional modification. Their several factors were

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at first privately circulated and multiplied. As the demand increased, the local scribe became an agent for their multiplication. Sometimes he may have been a member of the Christian communion, and so animated by a special zeal for the cause; at other times his service was purely perfunctory and mercenary. In due course, and especially with the triumph of Christianity, the Gospels began that long alliance with the publishing interests, which have made them to be the most widely circulated book in history.

There is nothing of supernaturalism in the entire history of this transmission. The books are subject to the same vicissitudes as beset other texts—there is no exemption from the Law of Transmission. They are the product of their time, and subject to its influences.

In reality the Greek text, as it was first circulated among the moderns, represented a much later state than has been indicated. For, while the great scholar who so finely served the world in this publication recognized the principle of collation and the comparison of manuscript with manuscript, he had at hand less than a score of documents, and these of mediæval date. It was quite impossible for Erasmus on so meager a basis to develop canons of criticism and to test them by application to

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data of sufficient scope. What was feasible for him he did well, and at any rate presented a text of sufficient clarity to serve as the basis of the great rationalizing movement which followed. This achievement places him in the forefront of those who have loosened the bond of tradition and set the race free from its ecclesiastical bondage. The work of the quiet scholar is often more effective than the hortations of the great orator or the sword-written narratives of mighty captains.

The end of it all—if end there can be while as yet buried cities hold their secrets and any nook or cranny where the merest scrap of papyrus remains hidden away is as yet unsearched—has been the accumulation of a thousand manuscripts of varying degrees of antiquity. Even the most worthless of them has its value. If not as an authority on the text itself, then as disclosing the processes by which errors creep into the transcription. Patient men have read them all; have familiarized themselves with each manuscript until the chirography acquired a personality and the several scribes became as men long known. These patient toilers have educated themselves for the task by the immense labor attendant upon such examinations. They have reduced to an exact science the field of manuscript genealogy; they have discerned its laws and

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have classified its cases; they have ordered its bewilderment, until now even the tyro may walk the field with a clear understanding of the results and the processes by which they have been wrought.

In particular there were three problems. The first was the determination of the processes by which errors arise. Some were of the eye, others of the ear, others of the unwilling hand. These all must be understood, so as to be applicable to the solution of a given problem. Thus, presently, the canons of criticism were developed—a series of rules by which manuscripts could be exhaustively tested was formulated. Thus equipped the textual critic was prepared to enter upon the second problem—the grouping of manuscripts with reference to their origin. This, in the end, followed geographical lines. It was inevitable that it should be so; for the intercourse between differing sections, while admitting of the occasional exchange of manuscripts, did not do away with the fact that for the most part the people of each section must depend upon their own scribes for the bulk of their work; and these, in turn, would use manuscripts in circulation in their region as their authorities. So each geographical group would come to have its own peculiarities. By attention to such distinctions, and to others of an equally decisive

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nature, it became possible to determine the lines of descent and to choose the earlier and more authoritative manuscript of each group. The study requisite to these determinations would also enable an estimate of the value of each manuscript group, or of particular documents where they were outstanding in their characteristics.

All such work was but preliminary to the final and vital phase of the problem—the restoration of the text to its original form. How was it possible to bridge the chasm of three centuries which separate the earliest manuscripts from the time of the first composition? With so many errors in evidence was it not hopeless to expect verbal accuracy? But at this point a helpful consideration occurs. The same conditions of individual transcription which led to multiplied variations practically guaranteed that the same error would not often be made by differing scribes. Thus at every point some transcription would be accurate, excepting where errors had been propagated from preceding texts. Wherever, then, there was a suspicion of inaccuracy, a careful examination of the most ancient documents would give some hint of the original form. In particular would it be found that certain texts of diverse origin would, by their agreement, point to a parentage very early in the history of the transmission.

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In the end the several editors came to a practical formula, by which the agreement of several well-known and highly-prized manuscripts settled each point. In case of divergence among these authorities, a variety of other considerations came into play, which gave relative assurance as to the original text. The work of each analyst was checked by a hundred co-laborers in the field. The whole matter was treated with an astonishing minutia, and the consensus was equally remarkable.

For three centuries the problem of textual criticism was practically unrecognized. The modifications of the text circulated by Erasmus and his contemporaries were but of the slightest character. It was received as of sufficient authority to justify the theory of literal verbal inspiration. Even the versification and punctuation acquired such a character, while the sanctity attending it was deemed to guarantee the accuracy of translation as well. It seemed to be a complete oracle of God, descending from heaven, type, binding, and all. It may well be that this reputation postponed the day of critical research until circumstances made possible an exhaustive and scientific investigation.

Suddenly the romance of textual criticism began. The impulse seemed simultaneously to affect several minds. Romance it was in truth. There are tales of arduous toil, until

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decades of labor brought forth world-changing books. There are adventures on land and sea, dangers of limb and life, the excitement of great discoveries, the finding of treasures in unexpected places, the rummaging of old garrets, the searching of far monasteries, the outwitting of sharp and hostile guardians of, to them, unintelligible manuscripts. Steadily the veil of time was pushed backward a little; the centuries gave up their secrets; the past began again to live. Curious customs of antiquity were disclosed; writings long erased were read again by the eye and mind of strange peoples. The sacred and profane were found in the most curious relations. The records of revelation became palimpsests for the inscriptions of blithe romances. So for a half century the research went on; now and then some great discovery would stimulate the examination of ancient libraries, only to result in fresh achievements. But whether in the archives of great cities, or in the secret haunts reached by far travel, the goal was ever the same—more texts, and, if possible, more ancient ones.

Measured by the difficulties which confronted them, by the patient diligence with which they wrought, by the definitive results achieved, and by the importance of their work in its bearing upon the spiritual history of the race, the great men in this field of endeavor deserve greatly

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of their fellows. Nor can even such a summary of their work as is here presented be regarded as complete without doing honor to some among them by name.

Among the pioneer editors the name of Lachmann stands out as the first to dispense with the printed edition and to appeal directly to such manuscripts as were available. It was a worthy hint, and followed with distinction; so that nearly forty years later came the monumental works of Tischendorf in Germany and Tregelles in England. They determined the principle that agreement among the most ancient texts was a practical assurance of accuracy; they also set forth these texts in such a way as to establish their character and reputation. But the question of what to do when these documents disagreed still required settlement. Much light was thrown upon this issue by the researches of Westcott and Hort, who, in 1881, published their edition. They had analyzed the characteristics of the several genealogical groups with reference to their verbal fidelity; they had exhaustively compared the large mass of patristic quotation; their edition represented the highest achievement of the half century of research. Since then the activity has been less conspicuous. The great issues were settled—only minor points could entice the scholar into this particular field. Some variations, of course,

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remained; but on the whole the original text had been restored. No interpreter would thenceforward be embarrassed by uncertainty as to the real expression of his author. In all essential points the restored text was adequately authoritative. Out of the confusion had come order. Patient research and the insight of genius have had this abundant reward. The Gospels are before the race in substantially the sequence of letters in which they were bodied forth after their final compilation. There is, then, an adequate basis for further analysis of the books themselves. The textual critic has wrought so well at the foundation that the higher critic may confidently rear thereon the edifice of his conclusions.

It is apparent, then, that the Gospels have shared in the vicissitudes of their age; that they have not been exempt from the working of natural human law. This justifies the extension of the hypotheses to other aspects of the general problem. But it is also apparent that the ingenuity of scholars and their prodigious toil has enabled the elimination of many of the errors which had been grafted by human fallibility; and this raises the presumption that in the field of higher criticism an equally definitive result may sooner or later be achieved.

Under these circumstances it becomes natural to inquire as to the other conditions of the time

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which have a bearing upon written literature. Certain of these are closely connected with the mechanism of publishing, as already outlined. The high cost and the difficulty in effective transmission would have their effect upon authorship, as well as upon the reader and purchaser. For authorship there was no compensation from the sale of books; the transcriber seems to have been entitled to the emoluments, such as there were. Property in ideas was a conception of slow growth; in reality it awaited the development of printing to become a practical issue. Hence there was no such thing as literary piracy, for there was no private property upon which the brigands could enrich themselves. A matter once given to the public became the possession of whomsoever wished to use it. Nor was it feasible to acknowledge indebtedness as between men, for the range of knowledge was so limited that the reading public would be none the wiser for the confession. In case of a few of the classics or what, in a literary sense, stood in the same relation—the Sacred Scriptures—there might be some fortification by quotation. But ordinarily one was free to use the thoughts and expression of predecessors as suited his own purpose. It was all so much grist brought to his mill.

The lack of compensation for writing wrought in two ways. On the one hand there was an

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appeal to the favor of some patron or other, who, flattered by the attention of the man of genius, might throw some benefits in his direction. This was the acknowledged fashion of the support of literature. But naturally the forms of literature were largely determined by the tastes of these patrons. This operated in the direction of brevity and sententiousness. The prolix was ruled out by the conditions of the production.

So also the nature of the manuscript produced its effect. Where the mechanical charges per word were high, and, as has been said, must have been paid wage for wage, extensive works of literature were out of the question. Even the crude form of the scroll and the bulk of the writing material, whether papyrus or parchment, compelled the same curtailment of the outpouring of genius. It is quite remarkable how nearly all the great works of antiquity have this brevity which to the modern renders them almost insignificant. It was no accident that Cæsar divided his reminiscences into such brief but vivid recitals as can be easily compassed by the struggling school boy at his snail's pace of translation within the brief period allotted for its perusal. Nor are the accounts of Xenophon expressed in less accommodating form. But for this we have to thank, not the good intention of the writers, but the inexor-

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able requirements of their mechanical material. The great works of Plato are within a compass which the modern philosopher would quite despise as being hardly adequate for his Prolegomena. Such condition inevitably affected the style. When there is allowed an author but a few words in which to express his burning thoughts, he must ponder not only its essence, but its expression as well. So that a certain sententiousness becomes the hall-mark of antiquity. Cicero writes his charming essays within rigid limits, but crowds into them so much of value that they live as his enduring monument. Thus to the exigencies of the time is added the example of the masters. It becomes a characteristic of good writing to say much in a brief thesis.

The great libraries then contained essays rather than exhaustive studies on the subjects under consideration. They were rich in expression, and deserved to be conned as models by subsequent ages. The sacred library of the Old Testament, with its more than half a hundred volumes, would be easily compressed within the limits of a single modern volume. It was not for naught that the Apostle Paul presented his formal theology within the brief space of less than ten thousand words. Only thus could he come within the range of easy transcription and secure for himself a hearing

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from far multitudes. On the whole this was a fair average for a thesis intended to be widely circulated. The result justified his sagacity; and though the name of the "Romans" has become attached to it, it is quite certain that for the greater portion of its contents it had other associations as well.

But even this does not give an adequate conception of the fragmentary character of ancient literature. Much of it had a brevity that scarcely seems to warrant a circulation at all. If, however, it is understood that private circulation was the inevitable first form of all except a few purposed productions of great men, it can readily be seen that a mere fragment was as acceptable as a more extended text. One would hesitate, indeed, to refuse an original poem from Van Dyke or Kipling, merely because it was not part of a volume. The analogy of modern current literature enables an understanding on this point. Most of this has but a transient existence; it is designed to meet a current need, and has, in consequence, a corresponding brevity of form. So it chanced that in antiquity brevity was no bar to acceptance, and, indeed, at times its chief credential. Whoever came across such incidental literature as suited him might well serve as his own scribe and secure for himself a copy. He might even aspire to collection of such brevities, and thus,

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in time, come to possess a "book" in the real sense of the term.

The evidence on this point is complete. In the New Testament literature, for example, are preserved at least three compositions of approximately three hundred words each, several others of but little more than five, while a considerable percentage is less than a thousand words in length. These facts establish the proposition. When the difficulties attending their preservation are considered, and the probability that a small bit of papyrus would be neglected and lost, as well as the comparatively low estimate which would be placed on such a message as contrasted with more pretentious documents, it is evident that their survival in any considerable numbers indicates an original abundance.

It has already been hinted, but the importance of the matter justifies a formal assertion and discussion, that nearly all literature which has survived had its inception in a personal relation; that is to say, it was written with some particular individual or group of individuals in view. Its chance of survival depended more upon them than upon the wish or purpose of the author. In a sense the initiative lay with the recipient. There is a modern analogy which helps to an understanding. Some of the greatest and most satisfying of the

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poems of the New England group, Longfellow, Lowell, and Holmes, were written for gatherings of one or another kind, sometimes a wholly private assembly, at others a quasi-public. But the further publicity of their contributions lay with the listeners, in so far at least as the plaudits with which they welcomed the production, and the specific expression that it should have a wider hearing led to the publication. So also the papers written for learned societies or conventions of one or another kind are deemed the property of the audience, and published by them, or allowed to languish, without further recognition. Once again many documents intended to have a wide circulation are, as a matter of fact, addressed to some notable person, and then, in the form of an open letter, or as a letter given to the public by the recipient, attract even more attention than their subject matter might seem to warrant. These, of course, do not constitute a perfect parallel, but they serve partially to illuminate the matter and to make it clear that this initial process had some positive advantages. It constituted a near approach to editorial supervision.

One can readily understand that if an ambitious writer were dependent upon the favor of some patron that he would not merely dedicate the work to him, but would also so embody

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his ideas that it might seem to be wholly addressed to the person whom he hoped to interest. The natural form of such a production would grow out of this personal relation. Its success would in a large measure depend upon its intimate appeal; and, being successful, such a type would influence all aspirants who followed. Thus a literary tradition would develop.

As a result we have an astonishing number of Epistles, particularly in Roman literature. Yet in many instances there is nothing in the subjects discussed which required the personal treatment. So Seneca writes his thesis on Consolation, and addresses it to one whom he deemed might be able to secure his recall from exile; shrewdly he takes the opportunity of a bereavement to induce this attention to himself. So also Lucretius has made a formal proffer of his noble poem, "De Natura Rerum," to a friend and patron. So writes Pliny; and, indeed, a score of others. The principle of the matter is the relation of literature to the world upon which it was dependent. In a lesser way, then, the same principle would apply to much of ordinary intercourse; if some fragment of a letter seemed worth preserving or had a more general interest, it might well be copied, and these copies multiplied. Thus even fragments, without preface or conclusion, would be strewn over the world of letters.

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So also the memoranda of events might come to be made. Some matter of interest having transpired, a man of literary impulse would readily jot it down for future use. Thus would he equip himself for epistolary activity when circumstances required. The essential thing to be borne in mind is the naturalness and ease with which fragmentary literature was developed, and to what an extent it was characteristic of the age.

An appreciation of this leads also to an appreciation of the notable degree in which books were developed by combination and interpolation. Any one having a number of memoranda and fragments of letters at hand might readily desire that they should be copied upon a single scroll. This, indeed, would be the first dictate of prudence. In such a shape they would be conveniently accessible; and, having risen to the dignity of a "book," the prospects for their circulation would be greatly increased. But such a manuscript would also become subject to the passion for commentary that seems to have possessed the minds of not a few of the reading public. The margins of the scroll and the double space between the columns seemed to invite such notation. In due time a mass of data would thus be accumulated. It would have some value and a confused relation to the text. But its very presence would compel a

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recopying of the text with such notation incorporated with more or less felicity into the body of the book.

In such a way a hybrid literary production would be developed. It would have a particular value to the special group which was represented in its production. Presently, as the group dissolved, other copies would be made; and thus a circulation begun which might go far, but which, in its every phase, would be typical of the time.

On a larger scale than this books were combined of purpose. Briefer ones might lend themselves to the purpose of an author and be absorbed in their entirety in the body of his text. This, of course, without recognition as to the source of the appropriated section, or, indeed, unless the style differed any indication that it was not from his own hand. In such a wise has it been discovered that one of the great Christian apologies was made part of a romance and put in the mouth of the hero when he pleaded for his faith before a heathen monarch. If an example so extreme be in evidence, it is quite clear that lesser appropriations would constantly occur. The fact that there was no property in literature made this an easy and natural consummation. There was not only no redress, but it is probable that the idea that a wrong had thus been done did not enter the

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mind even of the one whose thoughts were thus utilized. Rather the increased circulation would be a satisfaction to him. So also in the general course of reading, if some passage recalled another, an effective note might be made, and in due time the parallel passage would become a part of the text itself.

The distinction had previously been made between the several modes of circulation. These were seen to be three: First, private transcription; secondly, the assistance of local scribes; and thirdly, the regular publication by those who were engaged in the trade. It now appears that each of these stages represent as well a phase of book-making. Brief letters and memoranda, excerpts of importance, reminiscences of one kind and another, letters that were deemed worthy of preservation—these were the natural and legitimate objects of private transcription. In point of fact, by such means these literary fragments frequently attained an extensive circulation. Presently, however, the services of a scribe would be available, and more extensive documents would become feasible. He would either himself bring the fragments together or would be employed because some one else had done so, and thus created the occasion for his service. So also the longer letters, the more connected narratives, the favorite sections of larger works would be proper subjects of his

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skill. When these processes had developed to a point where unity and force had become characteristics of a production, when the recognition of these qualities was widespread, the book-maker would take it in hand. So also when some associated discipleship could guarantee a market for such wares, several books of a Master might be purposely prepared and sent forth. Instances not a few attest the prevalence of such a process.

Having thus set forth the general conditions of literary circulation and the processes of authorship, it becomes pertinent to inquire to what extent these are in evidence in early Christian literature. It is fitting to advert to the sacred literature which preceded it as well. So far as the books of the Old Testament are concerned, they are a commentary upon the principles elaborated. Particularly do we find the principle of literary fragments and of combination at work. Six or eight of its so-called "books" are the merest bits of oracular utterance preserved by some unique favoritism of fortune. But the larger books are confessedly of the nature of compilations in many instances. Isaiah brings together the prophecies spoken upon many different occasions. It is, in fact, made up of unrelated oracles. So, in large degree, with Jeremiah and Ezekiel; while Daniel is a combination from differing tongues. It is

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possible that in the major instances the prophets may have edited their own work; but the whole analogy of history suggests rather that this was done for them by some disciple, whose deep fidelity to his Master was thus evidenced. There appear also indubitable evidences that many of the historical books are simple antecedent works joined with such skill as the rude times permitted. While the books of the Psalms and Proverbs incorporate in their very statements the notes of the origin of the several parts, so that to doubt their antecedent history is to doubt the text itself.

All antiquity of recorded times was very much of a piece. Progress which to us is a commonplace was for them so leisurely that custom changed scarcely more with the centuries than with us during a decade. So that these suggestions of the development of Old Testament literature throw light upon the conditions of the times in which the early Christians circulated their propaganda. It is, however, scarcely necessary to have recourse to outside illustration. The mere cataloging of the contents of the New Testament attests its conformity to the conditions of the time. Here are epistles, both to individuals and to groups of people; epistles drawn out by some special occasion and others in which the form is used as a literary vehicle. Some of these are so brief

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that, but for the devotion of some individual, they must have perished. Hence it can be readily surmised that they came into circulation through private transcription. In others there are specific directions for their circulation, that the epistle should be sent for perusal to farther groups. It is hardly to be supposed that this would be done, when it has been so prized as to come to us, unless a copy were made of the same. And if valuable for two groups, by all common reasoning, then of interest to the other groups as well. Thus by simple courtesy would a letter become circulated far and near.

It is quite clear, also, that these letters were brought together into a common document in due season, for so we have had them for many centuries, and so, indeed, are they almost always found in association. Hence the principle of compilation is attested.

There appear also in many cases such glosses and comments as could not have been in the original. In some instances the divergence among the manuscripts is proof of this. In others the interruption to the flow of thought is of such a nature that it must have been interpolated. In other cases there is a clear annexation of passages from other texts. So abundant are these instances that we must presume them to have come into their present association by way of the marginal comment.

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It is notable also that in the Book of Acts at least there is the frankest association of documents of divers origin. So that by the simple confession of the author and the actual exposure of the process it is seen that a combination of previously existing books has been achieved. Thus the tendency of the age to assume for one's own whatever seemed adapted to the purpose in hand is sufficiently illustrated by these conditions. In this book also there is shown the relation between an author and his patron, for, while there may have been more of friendship than dependence, none the less the whole case is formed upon the standard of the times, and constitutes one of the aptest instances.

Recurring then to the major premise, that literature is inevitably the product of its age, we find that there is here no exception. Precisely the same influences are at work determining form and method of presentation as moved other men among the contemporaneous writers. We see books coming into ultimate form by a miscellaneous process of selection; that survival is determined quite independently of the purposes of the author; sometimes the trivial remains and the vital seems evanescent. The same antecedent processes are in operation. In no point then is there an exception; the whole case is so clear that even a mere summary of

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the conditions so establishes the fact that the utmost ingenuity would seek in vain to make out the contrary case. Whatever of inspiration produced this literature it did not emancipate men from the tendencies of their age so far as form and presentation were concerned. We can not regard this literature as in a class by itself and produced by special methods, but we must apply to it the same interpretative processes as are justified in other instances. This then is an immense gain. It enables the determination of critical canons; it gives a broad range of comparison. It rules out that attitude of mind which finds a miracle in every apparent exception. It opens the way for sober processes of criticism, by which the content as well as the form are examined as to their real value. The same mental attitude which has been fruitful in so many directions becomes applicable to this greatest of historical problems —its results become matter of the highest concern.

It was natural that these views should first dawn upon the minds of men who were least under the influence of the “exemption” theory; that is to say, upon those who on other grounds were disposed to deny the reality of inspiration. To them these facts would serve as a premise for a conclusion already established. But in their hands it would constitute an argument

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hostile to the cause of Christianity; and this not because such use is written on the face of the data, but because of bias and predisposition. Their attitude for all the contrary pretense was polemical and not scientific. The instinctive response to this was a call to arms, the brandishing of epithets, a burst of bitterness, alike foolish and ineffective. The simple and natural attitude should have been a careful scrutiny of the evidence, by dispassionate men of all minds. This indeed came later, but not until the whole matter had become a theme for exaggerated controversy, from the influence of which it has not yet recovered. But happily these days are passed—the highway of investigation is open to any man who chooses to walk therein.

The span of the nineteenth century practically covers the discussion. The first investigations were sporadic and tentative; men were feeling their way. Nor could attention be focused upon it until some mind had assimilated them in a cohesive whole and presented them in some totality. This was done by Baur and Strauss in their famous mythical theory, by which they affirmed that stories of a certain type come to get themselves believed and then aggregate around some personality, real or fancied. The one supreme criticism on such an analysis is the proposition which has just been elaborated, that literature is the product of its

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age; and when all is said the age of Jesus was not an age of myth—it was, in fact, as coldly critical as any before or since. Thus the very thesis which justifies the investigation rules this and all kindred theories out. Time has been when myths were developed; but it was an age-long process, and before recorded time.

Equally untenable were the views of Renan, and this for the same reason applied in an opposite direction. The myth-makers had placed their data a millennium toward the dawn of history; this great romancer had brought it to contemporaneous France and interpreted it with the charm and feeling of an ardent imagination. Thus again was the literature considered apart from the age in which it was produced.

Happily, and owing largely to the triumphs of Old Testament investigation, more sober and natural methods began to prevail. Before the interpretation could be effective the documents must be properly placed. So criticism centered upon various hypotheses as to the origin of the several Gospels.

Its first conclusions, hailed then as a great triumph, have in the course of time been reversed. This at least emphasizes the need of caution, and justifies the presentation of new facts at any time, no matter how revolutionary of accepted theories they may appear. Even in the late seventies, John Fiske reviewing some

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book* upon the subject speaks of the demonstrated and accepted fact, the most assured of all results that the Book of Mark was the last of the Synoptic Gospels to be written. Now, by a happy change of fortune, it is regarded as the initial production and basic to the other two.

There is in the foregoing paragraph a hint of the fundamental analysis which is now made by all scholars. Of the four books of the Gospels, three are alike both in matter and viewpoint—they see eye to eye. The fourth is unique in contents and its presentation. From a literary point of view the productions are scarcely to be compared. From an historical view there is contradiction and confusion. So criticism had naturally disassociated the two. Thus there are three distinct problems—the origin of the Synoptic group, including of course their interrelations; secondly, the origin and development of the Book of John; and thirdly, the relation which the two groups sustain to each other.

In spite of the caution as to the tentative nature of the investigation, it seems possible to speak of some results as now assured. Foremost among these is the recognition that the Gospels are the product of the literary customs

* "Jesus of History," pp. 99, 108, Vol. VI. Standard Edition.
Miscellaneous Works of John Fiske.

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of the age. No more than the other portions of the New Testament are they exempt from contemporaneous influences. The recognition of this truth is most fruitful in the documentary theory of their composition. This may now be taken as a demonstration. So far as the synoptics are concerned, the tradition of the Apostolic Age, the relation and interdependence of the completed books, and the confession of the author of one of them sufficiently establishes the fact. So far as the Book of John is concerned, it is established by the addition of the closing chapter to a work already brought to completion, and the recognition by the most eminent scholars that at least one incident has been interpolated in the text. These two passages are sufficient to establish the proposition; so that it would only remain to work out the degree in which the process had been effective.

There is also a consensus of agreement as to the dates of the completed books of the Synoptic group. They assumed their present form during the last third of the first century—a generation after the events which they describe. In the case of the Book of John, it is quite otherwise. Unfortunately the issue has been obscured by theological implications; for the contents of the book are so tremendous in their value one way or another that *a priori* considera-

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tions have had more weight than literary data. It may suffice to say that the earliest date for which contention is made is the last decade of the First Century.

It is quite obvious that the chief interest must shift from the books themselves to the elements of which they are composed. The antecedent documents become the matter of chief concern, for the text as it stands can have no higher historical or inspirational value than the several factors of which it is composed. If these assured results seem rather meager, it must be also remembered that many facts have been established, from which unexceptional inferences are yet to be drawn. The industry of scholars has been prodigious; their analysis has been keen, their ingenuity penetrating. The failure, so far as it may be so characterized, has been on the synthetic side. This gives rise to the supposition that some piece of evidence, vital to the solution, has not yet been sufficiently emphasized. It justifies, and even demands, further work in the same field and the careful presentation of new data.

The major premise of this argument, that all literature is the product of its age, requires the consideration of another aspect of literature as related to the Apostolic Age. Thus far our analysis has concerned the written forms. But it is clear that where so much diffi-

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culty attended the reduction of the literature to writing and its subsequent circulation, that other forms may well have been in vogue. In point of fact these forms far antedated the use of writing materials, which in the beginning were cumbrous beyond common use. In those days, however, there was no lack of literature of one or another kind.

Some of the great motifs of poetry have their origin in folklore,* wherein is all manner of appeal to the primitive human nature. These tales centered inevitably about the ancestral heroes, who in the course of the years loomed so large and heroic as to assume the stature of gods. In time the tales assumed classic form, so that the recital would proceed along fixed lines to the inevitable climax. Touched by genius these became the great epics. So Homer sang, while all his world listened. In more incidental form tales circulated that became the material for the primitive historian, who in simple faith transcribed them in all their literalness.

It is clear then that no great literature is or can be free from the oral element. That much of what we esteem in antiquity had this origin. Nor for the mass of the race had there been such advances in culture as to displace

* Note 6.

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these forms. Quite the contrary, the bulk of literature, even in the later centuries, had its origin in the exigencies of vocal utterance. How much does not the fame of the classic centuries owe to the great orators? Cicero, Demosthenes, Lysias, even Isaiah are cases in point.

We are, moreover, to conceive the pieces of formal literature as in most cases being read before a selected audience, and thus making their debut into the world of letters. Much then would depend upon effective reading, the favor of a prospective patron would sometimes be in the balance, the plaudits of the listeners would be the author's most immediate reward. Indeed, if this were to be followed by some substantial gift, the best hopes of the writer would have been realized. These influences affected both poetry and prose; the former perhaps lent itself more naturally to the system by which it had been evolved. If much of the prose literature took the form of epistles, it is quite certain that these, when they had been received, became oral. So that the idea of resonance and effective phrasing could never be absent from the mind of one who hoped to secure fame as an author.

The chief schools of literature were those of the rhetorician; and these had the ability to speak in public as the goal of their teaching.

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On every hand the evidence multiplies concerning the prevalence of speech as the real medium for the communication of ideas. The forum and the market place were not only the positions of public influence, the media for the circulation of news, but they were the places in which new ideas of every sort had their more natural expression.

Under these circumstances there developed a form of literature particularly adapted for public expression, and to impress itself on the minds of men so as to be held in memory. It was part of the general educational scheme that the memory should be trained. Frequently Greek youths were the masters of the entire Iliad, and much else of the great epics. The capacity for this was helpful in all lesser appeals to the memory. So that a speaker could have a reasonable confidence that some at least among his auditors would take with him as a permanent possession such choice phrases as he might choose for the embodiment of his thought.

The making of such phrases had become an art long before it was practicable to write them. Proverbs come from the early dawn of human society. Some are common to all peoples. There is, however, something unique in the process, so that few men have had a real facility in their production. It is one thing to utter a

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felicity that will please a few minds, and quite another to give world-wide currency to some idea. It is Sidney Smith who says that the ancients had an unfair advantage in this respect, and were able to say many of the best things first. This is only a partial expression of the facts. They definitely aimed at such results, and with good effect. This was such a characteristic of the Hebrews, that perhaps their most widely read book was a collection of proverbs. In reality it is a compilation of several collections; and this fact all the more emphasizes its place in their thought. The proverb is generally very brief—frequently but the association of two ideas, and nothing more. It lent itself to the introduction of a subject, and could be elaborated with almost any degree of ingenuity. As a matter of course their first circulation was by word of mouth; even as is the case in our time.

Closely akin in spirit to the proverb was an extensive wisdom literature. It contrasted with the proverb, as a paragraph compares with a sentence. The one was a proposition, the other an elucidation or illustration. Because of its larger bulk it required a more elaborate development of form. So such features were emphasized as tended to fix in the memory the passage as a whole; sometimes this was achieved by the use of poetic form, at other times by a

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remarkable association of ideas. But in either case the endeavor was to use mnemonic values and thus secure currency for the teaching. In some cases the results were remarkable and constitute the oracles a part of the world's best literature, over which later ages and alien peoples have pored with delight.

Because of the prevalence of oral methods, personal contact between the man with a message and such people as were concerned about it was almost a necessity. The need was supplied by the rise of teachers who called others into the relation of discipleship. To them in conversation or in set discourse they imparted their best thought. So simple was the device that it became characteristic of all antiquity, even as it is yet of such nations as have not passed beyond the economic stage of the classic period of Greece and Rome. Scarcely a philosopher passes across the scene but that we see in his train a number of disciples, sometimes younger men, but not always so. Socrates is scarcely recognizable, except in such association. Sometimes his followers were but transient, and then turned to mock him; but others among them were with him in his martyrdom. Plato is ever to be associated with the pleasant grove of his academy, discoursing of high things with his enraptured friends. Aristotle walks to and fro in similar

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discourse. Epicurus calls his fellows into the association of plain living and high thinking, and an emancipation from the dread and fear of life and of something evil after death. So they all pass, one following another down the corridors of time, and ever grouped in fascinated interest.

From such association two forms of written literature arose. In the one we have a recital of various incidents which gave the great man his theme. Thus the "incident" acquires a didactic value. Similarly "conversations" were recorded with more or less accuracy. The best classical example is of course the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, in which the deeds and comments of Socrates are more or less fully recited. But where one such incident came to be a matter of record, ten may have been told for a decade after among friends, until the oral tradition was quite as vital to an understanding of the master's philosophy as the written accounts. Indeed, the writing would in some instances be but the preservation in after years of such stories as had survived the lapse of time. It is hardly to be supposed that the spirit of an amanuensis would have come upon the disciple from the first. Though indeed such things have been, and that more commonly in our own age.

Plato affords an illustration of another type of the literary after-effects. He also presents

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Socrates in conversation with his disciples or rebutting an adversary. But he carries out the plan with such detail and with such perfect literary skill that it is quite clear that we have a Socrates, illuminated by the genius of his scarcely less distinguished follower. There is beyond question some historical value in these representations; but it is difficult to separate this from the purely philosophical element contributed by the narrator.

At any rate it is significant that there thus came into vogue a type of literature which has no effective parallel among the moderns. Ruskin has made some use of the dialogue, and so a few others. But this is insignificant in comparison with its large place in antiquity. Nor can this prevalence of the Dialogue as a literary form for the discussion of high themes be understood, except as we understand that it but copied a reality which was occurring in every city, wherever a distinguished leader of thought could get a hearing. It is first hand evidence of the attitude which such masters sustained to their followers. Nor can we suppose that these followers treated such explications lightly. The master's utterances were to be treasured. And if it so be that he phrased them with this in view, then indeed their lot was fortunate; they would to a certainty pass these oracles on to their less-favored friends—perhaps by letter,

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perhaps by recital, perhaps in some form of memoranda. Why then should not such fragmentary relicts in due time be brought together, and being written out, circulate for the benefit of human kind?

The picturesque appeals to the mind with a peculiar power to induce retention. The succeeding elements in an unfolding incident tend to get themselves phrased so that there is a constant association of words and ideas. The story becomes stereotyped; hence it assumes a literal permanence. There is a certain religious institute in a city of the Central West where the undoubted genius who founded it sought to express the ideas for which he stood in a series of stories drawn for the most part from the common experiences of life. Scores of youths have studied at this shrine. But the peculiar fact is that each of these seems to have carried away the illustrative material before all else. They use the same story repeatedly, with scarcely a variation from inception to climax. These instances are not to be found in any text-book, nor do the disciples consciously commit them to memory. But, by the attrition of constant repetition, they had come to have a form so artistic, the expressions had become so adapted to the common mind, that they possessed a maximum value for the purposes in hand. This is but a modern in-

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stance of what, under analogous circumstances, was constantly transpiring in antiquity. Thus around each such master would develop a group of oral utterances, partly his own, and partly about him by his disciples. This would come to have a fixed form, and to be almost as permanent so long as interest in the teaching survived, as if it had been committed to manuscript, and far more effective.

Once again, one must advert to oral forms in the shape of the drama. The whole effect dependent upon reaching the listeners. Yet the drama had a great vogue among the peoples of antiquity. The great poets, then as in later ages, found its forms adapted to their genius; it became widely in vogue, securing fame and material benefits for the playwrights. Thus from this direction also an oral influence was operating upon the literature of the age.

One way and another, then, oral forms were developed which had a large significance for the people of the time, and without which no great philosophical movement can be understood. The mode is so characteristic of the time that there is a real difficulty for the modern in allowing for it in his estimate of men and their influence. But it was frequently the case that without writing a line a great teacher might project his influence across the generation and transcend the boundaries of States.

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When we come to the application of these data to the New Testament Literature we find traces of each of these influences. The movement of Christianity is scarcely to be understood without allowance for the orator. Some suggestions of this come down to us in reproduction of a few typical speeches, while the spell of eloquence of one or another is clearly indicated in the narratives or in allusions in epistles. More than one of the pioneers of the new religion gained a reputation for genuine oratorical power—so Peter, so Paul, so Apollos—and these three indeed were the subjects of tentative divisions in at least one Church. And if the speech of the Apostle Paul, despite his disclaimer, approximated in power the eloquence of some portions of his epistles, it is quite clear that he had a compelling address. Yet even he, in the flush of youth, was not able to gainsay the wisdom and unction with which Stephen spoke.

We are greatly indebted for our knowledge of the early Christian era to the fact that epistles were in reality public documents, to be read in the assemblies of the faithful. Hence copies multiplied; but hence also the phraseology had a peculiar power to fasten itself upon the mind. Paul is the most quotable of the ancients, and one surmises intentionally so. His letters abound in passages that may well

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have had a separate prior existence and been incorporated because they represented his best expression of thought. Some of them are classic in their phraseology, and as such contribute greatly to the tendency to consider texts apart from their context. But this may well have been the intention of the writer. The brief "Epistles of John" is evidence of the proverb carried to the height of wisdom literature. Where phrase on phrase develops that which precedes, but does this in such a way as to spell itself into the memory, so perfect is the balance of the parts. James also has made use of this form. Both of these little books are in reality brief collections of oracular utterances, intended to be carried in the mind rather than in the scroll.

We come then to the teacher and his disciples. They abounded in Palestine in the early Christian era. Such were many of the rabbis. So Saul of Tarsus sat at the feet of the wise Gamaliel. Concerning him and Hillel as well as others of these great teachers there have survived many incidents which illustrate their teaching and its modes. This is precisely in the form indicated as characteristic of the age. Paul himself seems to have had his school of disciples. Very naturally its membership fluctuated, but he went about commonly accompanied by six or eight of these younger

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men. In due season they in turn went forth to become instructors in one or another place. He seems to have established himself in more than one city in a definite place and invited the attention of such as were disposed to discipleship. Concerning his experience various incidents have survived, and have been narrated with charming simplicity by one of his disciples. It is the relation of Socrates and Xenophon over again.

These instances are sufficient to establish the general parallel between the oral literature of the classic age and the literature of the New Testament in its first form. They hint also the processes in part by which much of it was reduced to writing and came to be aggregated in its present relations. There is in this nothing mysterious or transcendental. It was common-sense seeking, as effectively as might be, to reach its age with a message believed to be of supreme import.

There is thus abundant justification in seeking the prior forms of the Gospels along these lines. Certainly they did not spring into existence full fledged—the building process is too clearly in evidence. One almost sees the workmen leaving the building—here a scaffold is not entirely removed, here a joining has not been carefully made. Here some unused fragment has been carried over to another task;

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here an addition has been made to the earlier structure; the timber, however, is not quite the same, and different workmen have wrought it into shape. The only question is this, Are these vestiges sufficient to enable a reconstruction of the details of the process? Without venturing an early answer it will be well to look them over with great care; to interpret them in the light of current usages; to eliminate the miraculous as an explanation of form; and to seek a sober relating of all the facts in the case, uninfluenced by prior theory.

The fundamental proposition thus far elaborated is this, "All literature is vitally related to the age in which it is produced." The New Testament has been deemed by many to be exempt from this proposition and to constitute a singular exception. This pretense has been examined; and when the data is before us it appears that on every count there are clear evidences that the New Testament came into being in response to general social custom, and that in presenting its message the forms then in vogue were wisely followed. The proof of this has been drawn from other portions of the collection than the Gospels, so as not to anticipate the detailed argument and analysis, which would be necessary in working out the historic value of these documents. But since the men and institution which produced the

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Gospels were also producing the other Christian literature, the presumption is inevitable that they did not work differently in writing or developing the more important literature. Their work was necessarily of a piece. So that the principles and methods thus described become basic to a study of the Gospel problem. In this spirit then and with this much in mind an advance may be made to the real question as to the preliminary form which is basic to the ultimate Gospels.

II

THE INTERPOLATIONS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

THERE are two incidents recorded in the Book of John which show the process of book-making so clearly that they are very instructive. The first of these is in the eighth chapter—the incident of the “Woman taken in Adultery.” So clearly has textual science analyzed this passage, that even in the Revised Versions, intended for general perusal, it is bracketed as an interpolation; while the great edition of Westcott and Hort removes it entirely from its place and presents it as an appendix. The reason for this certainty is in the simple fact that the oldest documents do not contain it. Hence very clearly we have a case of an addition attempted after the book had been, as it were, on the market. It is quite clear, then, that a book was a growing thing constantly accreting this or that passage as comment or interpolation, and that even after the Apostolic Age the process had not wholly ceased.

If now one examines the context, he finds that though skillfully inserted it is none the less

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an intrusion. When the passage has been removed the text closes again and the narrative moves on with entire continuity. Indeed, in order to place the incident, the editor was obliged to indicate the termination of the events just preceding, and the opening of a new situation. The transition from the incident to the regular text is not thus smoothed and seems somewhat abrupt; there is an entire change of subject matter which is indeed in complete harmony with the discourse preceding the insertion, but not at all with the dramatic character of the incident in question. It is evident, then, that such interpolations, if others there be, should leave indications on either side of the gap made to receive them; and that the context having been torn apart will close naturally when the alien element has been removed. These seem to be serviceable canons of criticism and should be helpful in the solution of further problems as they arise. Literary surgery can seldom be done so effectively as to leave no scar; particularly is this true when there is no intention to deceive, but the addition takes place in accordance with the usual custom of the time.

Here, then, are two documents, the one a book of some twenty thousand words, the other a mere fragment. Yet somehow the fragment equally with the book had survived the muta-

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tions of time. Such a bit of literature deserves careful attention. It consists in the Greek of some one hundred and fifty words—about eight hundred letters. Now, the standard line in which copying was done appears to have had about thirty-five letters, hence this passage would occupy perhaps twenty-five lines. Quite evidently it is adapted to a single page of such papyrus as was commonly used. Hence, in reality, a little leaflet, such as could readily circulate in a separate edition. The incident has a highly-developed dramatic form; it moves from climax to climax; it is adapted to hold the attention of a hearer as each swift turn is made. These are the characteristics of the folk story, and point to an earlier history in an oral form. But there is scarcely a word to be spared; it has gotten rid of all useless explications; the attrition of time has been at work. The oral history must have been fairly prolonged. Once again, as we have it, it is in the Greek; originally it would have been in the language of Palestine. So soon, however, as the Gospel stories were told to the Hellenistic Jews some among them would undergo translation. Then, as the actual possession of a Greek speaking people, would develop in their own way. Had this story existed as a written document in the Aramæan, it seems highly probable that it would have been earlier

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embodied in one or another of the Gospels. But circulating in the other tongue and having thus its chief vogue, it might easily be among the many incidents that failed of early narration. In due course one of the many collectors of incidents concerning the Master would note the value of this and make a memoranda of it. Such a paper, if copied even in a limited degree, would in the end, when the aggregation of the canonical literature began, find a place in association therewith. In some such way has this document come to its final adjustment.

There is, then, the highest probability of its authenticity. It little matters who was its author in the sense of writing it down, for many minds were concerned in its production; it passed current among the disciples, too well known to require writing or authority. Such currency is its best credential. There is indeed a remarkable fidelity to the character of the Master as elsewhere revealed; the whole manner is too fine for invention. Probably in no other place is the balance between sympathy and justice held with so even a hand; mercy and truth are met together. Hence even those authorities who, on textual grounds, declare it to be an interpolation are none the less so loathe to lose so typical an instance that they preserve it in other connections. It is agreed, then, that isolated memoranda may have the

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highest historical value; that oral tradition may be essentially accurate; that even a first writing in Greek and possibly in a place remote from the scenes of the Master's activity does not bar a document from careful consideration.

But is it conceivable that there was but one instance of this character? The chances that a solitary memoranda would have survived is too remote to merit consideration. It must be taken as typical of a process, as one among many such incidents circulating in either oral or written form, or perhaps both. There is then justification for expecting to find others of the same class, evincing the same general characteristics and having the same general history.

The second of the two instances is to be found in the closing chapter of the Gospel. The twentieth chapter of the book closes with a lofty note of finality:

“Many other signs therefore did Jesus in the presence of His disciples, which are not written in this book; but these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing you may have life in His name.”

By common consent the twenty-first chapter has been added by the redactor; the process is so clumsily wrought that even the details may be traced.

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The chapter in question is itself composite, and consists of three distinct parts:

- I. The Story of the Fishermen,
- II. The Restoration of Peter,
- III. Editorial Comment.

The two main parts are separated by the unusual comment:

"This is now the third time that Jesus was manifested to His disciples after that He was risen from the dead."

To interject such a remark into the midst of an interview is a most unusual process, and suggests that the portion preceding might be considered by itself. When this is done it is seen to have a completeness of its own; it is based on a simple incident and has been elaborated to portray character. It has remarkable affinities with the call of the disciples as narrated by Luke; the parallel extends even to details. The location is the same, and so are the persons; there is the same failure of the night's fishing venture, and its renewal at the command of Jesus, with the same wonderful result; there are the two ships, and between their occupants a tacit partnership and co-operation. The effect on Peter is alike in both instances.

When to this extraordinary burden of coincidence is added the violence done to the historical situation, and the patent fact that

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the incident is an interpolation, and as such had a long, independent history, it becomes reasonable to suppose that we have here an elaborated account of the event which Luke recorded in a simpler form. If now this incident be excised, it becomes clear that the comment referring to the third appearance of the Lord may by a copyist's error have dropped below the proper close of the book, and that in reality it belongs with the appearance to the eleven disciples, including Thomas. So placed it squares with the recited facts, for this was the third appearance of the risen Christ, so far as this record shows. The utterance of Thomas is in the same key as is the closing sentence of the book, giving at once an artistic and harmonious ending.

The portion of the chapter which deals with the restoration of Peter has such strong affinities with the story of his denial that it may be presumed to have been a portion of that incident. When the matter of this incident came to be distributed in a historical narrative there would be strong editorial reasons for putting this portion after the events of the resurrection had been recited; hence it must immediately follow the interview with the disciples. This in turn involved a second closing for the book, and certain editorial comment.

This examination develops canons of criti-

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cism, which in their application should be of the largest value. It indicates that the Gospels were builded in accordance with the customs of the age, and so contributes to the underlying thesis which has been enunciated. It gives a hint as to the mode of procedure which should lead to the discernment of further data.

In the Book of John there are five other incidents recorded *in extenso* which possess a certain separateness from the text. Each of these, then, becomes a legitimate object of inquiry. The tests to be applied are, first, whether they are compound structures; second, whether they have special traces of editorial revision; and third, what is their relation to the context.

The story of the woman of Samaria is narrated at considerable length. The climax of the story is the Messianic confession, and the acceptance of Jesus as the Savior of the world. This occurs then very early in His ministry, before a body of disciples had been developed, or before He Himself had advanced His claim. The later enunciation of this faith by Peter on behalf of The Twelve is but a sorry echo of what had been anticipated by months at least. Besides this He is accompanied by disciples, though the actual calling of a definite body seems to have taken place later on. Con-

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sequently the Samaritan discipleship is of earlier date than the Jewish; these alien people are really the first to perceive the nature of His claim. It is quite clear that chronologically, at least, the incident is misplaced.

The story itself divides into two parts, which in this case are skillfully blended. The first deals with the disciples and their surprise that He should converse with a Samaritan. Some parts of the primitive incident are so merged with the other development that they are with difficulty restored; but it would seem that the narrative must have run somewhat as follows:

“While the disciples were gone unto the city to buy meat, Jesus being wearied with His journey sat thus on the well. It was about the sixth hour, and there cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water. Jesus saith to her, ‘Give Me to drink.’ Then saith the woman of Samaria unto Him, ‘How is it that Thou, being a Jew, asketh drink of me, who am a woman of Samaria?’ Jesus answered and said unto her, ‘If thou knewest the gift of God and who it is that saith to thee, Give Me to drink, thou wouldest have asked of Him, and He would have given thee living water.’ And upon this came His disciples, and marveled that He talked with the woman, yet no man said, ‘What seekest thou?’ or ‘Why talkest Thou with her?’ The woman then left her water pot and went into the city. In the meanwhile His disciples prayed Him, saying, ‘Master, eat.’ But He said to them, ‘I have meat to eat that you know not of.’ Therefore said His disciples to one

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another, ‘Has any man brought Him to eat?’ Jesus said to them, ‘My meat is to the will of Him that sent Me and to finish His work.’”

So recorded the incident has all the simplicity of the direct oral tradition. It preserves strictly the unity and develops a theme which comparison with other records shows to have been a not inconsiderable element in the teaching of Jesus. Even the location becomes consistent, for there is no indication that the recorded events took place in Samaria. Indeed, the whole detail points to an outcast woman in a strange place doubly surprised at the courtesy of the stranger. Certainly disciples who had just transacted business in a Samaritan city could have little cause for surprise on finding their Master in conversation with a resident of the place. We have reason to suppose then that the simple oral tradition has been made the basis for a late elaboration in the interest of Samaritan Christianity.

Other elements of the composition are also traceable. There are three distinct “sayings” collocated and given a place in the developed story—the one concerns the “well of water springing up into everlasting life;” the second emphasizes the spiritual character of worship—a theme quite beyond the requirements of the situation, and marking a break in the narrative; and the third saying concerns “the white harvest

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fields." These are each separate expression and show purpose in their introduction; they may be left out of the narrative without impairing its continuity. It is as though some writer found them rising in his memory as he wrote the story, and with that happy disregard of historical association which belongs to the naive period of historical writing he placed them in the mouth of his chief character; this does not imply any lack of authenticity in the sayings themselves—rather the reverse in fact—but merely in their association with this event.

Quite clearly then we are dealing with a composite structure, which has been elaborated in its final redaction by the editor. So also we have traces of explanation, which simple narrative never makes; and we have editorial placing of the event by connecting comment. On the second test also the evidence is quite clear.

The general historical difficulties connected with placing such an event in the early part of the Gospel have been noted. It would be a sufficient answer to this to say that the Book of John disregards chronology. But that is to assume a matter which requires proof. The force of this misplacement may be allowed to weigh against the incident. But when the context is carefully analyzed it is seen that there are further reasons for deeming the passage to be an interpolation. This is made

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clearer by simply reading the text without reference to the passage or its introductory comment. In such a case the reading is as follows:

“When, therefore, the Lord knew how the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John, He left Judea and departed again into Galilee, for Jesus Himself testified that a prophet hath no honor in his own country.”

The unity and simple force of this statement is remarkable. The movement of the Teacher is stated, and a reason for it is given; so also the goal of His journey is stated, and an adequate reason quoted, which exactly balances the urgency which induced the leaving. Yet between the beginning and end of this sentence occurs a long digression, which utterly breaks the continuity and separates the two members of the balanced statement by so great a distance that their real connection has been seen but seldom.

It remains, then, to place the passage as regards the processes of its construction. Part of it seems to have been an oral tradition and to evidence the qualities which have been noted as characterizing such forms; but also it has the length which would have filled a page of papyrus. So it may be regarded as having assumed written form in the course of time. As regards the other portions of the fusion, there is this to be said: The logia seem to have

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been preserved by careful tradition and were doubtless part of the mental furnishing of the ordinary Christian. They are indeed admirably adapted to the modes and conditions of the Greeks, with their emphasis upon world-wide harvest fields and the spiritual rather than local nature of worship. We may recognize also the Samaritan element. The Christian Church which was developed among them must have had its traditions. Anything which would antedate the Apostolic presentation of the Gospel as it is recorded in the Book of Acts would have ministered to their national pride. Hence the slightest incident would have been magnified into an adequate ministry of the Master directly to them. The human nature of this is so clear as to be pathetic. There may have been in the later days when Jesus was an outlaw some such sojourn amid the Samaritan hills; it was, however, essentially an incident and produced no such effect as is here implied. Given the traditional story, and some such vague reports as are thus indicated, the two would presently come to a certain fusion. Some one, as Philip the "Gospeler," may in due course have written this "Gospel of the Samaritans."* In such a form it would of course have an independent circulation, until it came finally to the attention

* Note 8.

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of the collocator of the Book of John. This conjectural account seems to meet all the conditions and to give an ample explanation of the presence of the passage where now we find it.

In the ninth chapter of the Gospel is a third incident narrated at considerable length, and showing on the surface at least some of the characteristics which invite our attention in this connection. It is the story of the man born blind. It is in reality one of the most dramatic fragments which have come down to us, and quite singular in this that Jesus is not the chief personage. This suggests an analysis of the passage into the scenes in which Jesus is present and those in which the drama takes another trend. The division is natural, and is easily made. The first portion is presented as follows:

"As Jesus passed by He saw a man who was blind from birth; and His disciples asked Him, saying, 'Master, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?' Jesus answered, 'Neither has this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him.' When He had thus spoken, He spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and He anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay, and said unto Him, 'Go, wash in the Pool of Siloam.' He went his way, therefore, and came seeing. When Jesus had found him He said unto him, 'Dost thou believe on the Son of God?' He answered

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and said, ‘Who is He, Lord, that I might believe on Him?’ Jesus said unto him, ‘Thou hast both seen Him, and He is it that talketh with thee.’ And he said, ‘Lord, I believe.’ and he worshiped Him.”

So told the incident has a unity and a teaching value rather than a dramatic one, which is the use made of it in the larger form. It again suggests the page of papyrus, and a separate existence in oral form before being reduced to manuscript. It contrasts vividly in its simplicity with the elaborate and artificial grouping in which it is embodied. There is in the larger account a reiteration of each of the elements; the writer recounts the scene in three different aspects. He makes the man’s perceptions stand in direct contrast to the enmity of the Pharisees; he gives to him an aggressive and bold front. Many of these elements would have been purged away in an oral tradition. The vital elements would have been once mentioned and given their true value; the whole treatment points to a later composition wherein the writer imaginatively constructs his scene. Nor does he keep himself wholly in the background, for the editorial element appears in certain interpretative remarks, by which the situation is made clear to a reader not familiar with the conditions. Yet the explanation itself makes obvious error, in that it conveys the idea that the Messianic character of Jesus had been so

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declared as to induce formal action against those who should profess faith in Him. This is of value as indicating a vague conception of the conditions of the time—it points to an author whose knowledge of the conflict between Jesus and the hierarchy had been gained by hearsay. We conclude then that on the basis of the oral tradition, which had been reduced to a leaflet and which was before him as he wrote, some later writer had developed a more elaborate account by fusing it with certain things which he had heard, and with certain others which he allowed himself to develop from his imaginative conception of the event. He is really aiming to vivify history. But how does such a theory stand the third test—the relation of the passage to the context? The matter is complicated by the fact that the passage is immediately followed by certain sayings of Jesus. Hence it is necessary to pass on to the resumption of the narrative form. The narrative takes up a scene of violent division among certain auditors on account of what Jesus had just said. He Himself does not appear to be present. But turning from this to the words which immediately precede the account of the healing of the blind man, we find that Jesus had been in vigorous controversy, and had even been threatened with destruction; under these circumstances He leaves the scene

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of action. The relation of the two parts becomes clear when they are read continuously:

“. . . Then said the Jews unto Him, ‘Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast Thou seen Abraham?’ Jesus said unto them, ‘Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am.’ Then took they up stones to cast at Him; but Jesus hid Himself, and went out of the Temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by. There was therefore a division again among the Jews for these sayings; and many of them said, ‘He hath a devil and is mad; why hear ye Him?’ Others said, ‘These are not the words of Him that has a devil. Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?’”

The connection, therefore, is perfect, when the passage is eliminated. To be sure another problem, that of an interpolated “saying,” is raised; but this must await the accumulation of further data before it can be intelligently discussed. There is in the narrative a key as to the reason for the introduction of the account at this precise point. One of the arguments by which His friends refute the attack upon the Master is by reference to the healing of the blind. It does indeed seem to be a generic reference, but none the less would suggest the insertion of the incident; particularly if the incident were at hand and the editor was seeking some place where it could be recorded.

This would indicate that the story had its manuscript existence before the work of com-

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bination was begun; that the final reviser came to his task with the basic book at hand, and a number of other papers which he sought to incorporate into the larger text. Thus there unfolds some indication of the specific process by which the Gospel assumed its present form. We have an added reason for premising the existence of a body of written accounts of special incidents in the life of the Master, which had been based upon primitive oral tradition and enlarged by some one with a literary instinct and a general, but not definite knowledge of the general circumstances of the great ministry. This would be a rather late development, for first of all the oral tradition must be allowed time to perfect its forms, and these in turn must have been reduced to writing; then, after a period of circulation in such form, they would have been developed into the more extensive narrative as is here indicated. These in turn must have been in circulation before they came into the possession of the final compiler of the text. Altogether the elapsed time would have reached the third generation after the events.

Foremost among all the incidents in the Gospel, in its tender beauty and in the personality revealed, is the story of the raising of Lazarus from the dead. It is presented with a wealth of detail that makes a vivid impression

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upon the mind. Its power is scarcely more in the wonder which is recorded than in the sympathy and heroism in the cause of friendship which is presented. Precisely because of this fullness of recital it becomes legitimate to inquire as to its origin.

It is a drama in four vivid scenes, each of which has its own setting. There is first the group picture of the Master in His retirement; He has withdrawn from Judea with a price on His head, and with the formal decree of death but a few days ahead of Him. In a few vivid strokes the Master and His disciples are etched. Then there is a change of scene; He has come near to the village where bereaved friends reside, summoned by their announcement of the fatal illness. The interview with the practical Martha is realistic and full of a high dignity, alike worthy of the woman and the Master. The more emotional sister is then summoned, and the whole group is seen wending its way to the place of burial, followed by the lesser mourners. There is no disguising the great feeling of the Master; the tears run down His face; but presently He rises to the greatness of His power, and with one clear call brings the dead to life. No detail is omitted. The whole matter is elaborated in the highest degree.

We have in this an artistic production, in which every part has been proportioned to the

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other. There is no evidence of the wearing the story to its vital elements. It depends for its power upon the little touches. Yet for all that it is clearly a compound vision. The change in locality and in personnel is enough to establish this. But if an oral tradition had been recorded in simpler terms it seems to have been so fused with the larger story that its outlines are lost. To be sure this proves nothing more than the greater success of the composition, or, at most, that the writer worked from the oral account directly and had no previously-written memoranda before him. Granting this it becomes clear that as for the rest he has pursued precisely the same method of development as in the incidents already analyzed. The work is of a class with them in its essential processes.

We find also traces of the editor at his work. For the benefit of his readers he identifies his personages by alluding to other incidents presumably well known to them. He puts into the mouth of the Master certain sayings* which he deems appropriate, but which in reality constitute the only break in the development of the drama. These are evidences of the presence of the reviser, when he came to place the incident in the body of the text.

There is reason indeed for his choosing this particular place for the introduction of the story,

* Passage beginning, "If a man walk in the day," etc.

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for presently we read an allusion to this man, who was raised, by name. The allusion is in itself significant, for it reads as though there had been no previous mention of the event, but only that there was a generally known tradition of it. This would be the fitting place, then, to insert the important document. It could not be immediately done, for the reason that the progress of the narrative required an interval of time. So the editor has gone back a few sentences. There is no appropriate setting at hand, but this is overcome by the bringing Jesus from His retirement to Jerusalem for the specific purpose of working the great miracle. This occasions the development of the prelude, which seems to be from a later hand than the main story. In this wise the account is lodged in the text. Let us then follow the plan of omitting it and observing whether or not the sutures close with approximate accuracy. Under these circumstances the passage will read:

“Therefore they sought again to take Him, but He escaped out of their hand and went away again beyond Jordan into the place where John at the first baptized; and there He abode. And many resorted unto Him, and said, ‘John indeed did no miracle; but all things that John spake of this man were true.’ And many believed on Him there. Then gathered the chief priests and the Pharisees a council, and said, ‘What do we? for this man does many miracles, and if we let Him alone all will believe on Him;’”

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The unity is fully preserved; the alarm of the Council is justified by the renewed association of the Master's name with that of John the Baptist, whom all men accounted a prophet. The danger was real enough and does not need the introduction of the special climactic miracle in order to give it force. Indeed, in just such ways did insurrections arise rather than in the city itself. So the context pieces together in such a way as to indicate that it had been forced apart in order to permit the introduction of the interpolated passage. Thus in this case also the three tests are successfully met.

We have detected the Elaborator at his work, but it becomes possible to get a clearer view than any yet indicated, for two of the stories which he has developed have a parallel in the Synoptics. The comparison is exceedingly interesting and affords light on many minute problems. But for the present this much will suffice, that we are enabled to see the combination wrought by the artist. The first of these cases is in the sixth chapter of the Gospel. It contains three distinct parts. The first is the feeding of the multitude; the second the walking on the sea; and the third the controversy with the people in the synagogue at Capernaum. There is no reason in the nature of things why these should be narrated together; but the association of ideas probably accounts for it.

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The account in Matthew and Mark presents two of them in the same sequence. Luke gives but one—omits the second—but then proceeds to develop essentially the same situation as is found in John. From this disagreement as to the association, it seems highly probable that the stories were originally in circulation as oral traditions in separate form; so the material was available for different combinations. But when a comparison of the first incident is made, it is seen that the dominant characteristic of the John account is the vivifying of personality; he introduces several speakers into the situation and develops the plot through their conversation. It is the same quality which was in evidence in each of the stories which we have already analyzed. He adds details and makes the matter more real by this imaginative treatment.

The connecting story of the storm, on the other hand, is less fully given and seems to be valued merely as an explanation of the change of scene. His main emphasis is to be placed upon the Capernaum controversy, which is matter quite peculiar to himself. This controversy is set forth at great length, and by its subject matter is related to the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand. It is developed very largely by the use of particular sayings of the Master, some of which seem to have been

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afterwards introduced. The incident comes to a definite end, with these words:

“These things said He in the synagogue, as He taught in Capernaum.”

The editorial comment is not as strongly in evidence as in some of the other instances, but none the less there are two explanatory passages; the one relates to the Passover being at hand, and the other explains the process by which the multitude was enabled to reach Capernaum in time to participate in the controversy. This seems an afterthought, growing out of the necessity of identifying the personnel of the two occasions. It clearly arises from the artistic necessities of the case.

When now we examine the placing of this incident in the context, it is at once seen that it does violence to the historical situation. Immediately before this the Master is in Jerusalem; immediately after He is there again; but is instantly returned to Galilee, and without pause is hurried to Jerusalem a second time. This is weird narration indeed. The matter is also associated with the Passover, which causes no little embarrassment, for by all incidental indications it belongs to a very late period in the ministry; but the subsequent movements render it impossible to have been the last Passover. This difficulty can be evaded by recognizing the error of this editorial comment.

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But the general situation is not thereby modified. The story also indicates a definite break with the Galilean followers, while to the last their enthusiasm seems to have been undiminished. Such considerations certainly emphasize the idea of an interpolation.

Immediately preceding the account is an extensive Logia. Its presence does not complicate the situation in any large degree, for it is quite in the spirit of the text; but if we look to the narrative portion immediately preceding the Logia, and connect this with the narrative which immediately follows the interpolated incident, we have the following reading:

“ . . . Jesus answered them, ‘My Father worketh hitherto and I work.’ Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God. . . . Many therefore of His disciples, when they heard this, said, ‘This is a hard saying;* who can hear it?’ When Jesus knew in Himself that His disciples murmured at it, He said to them: ‘Does this offend you? What if you shall see the Son of man ascend up where He was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profits nothing; the words which I speak unto you are spirit and life. But there are some of you which believe not.’”

Not only is the passage so continuous that it would be difficult for one not knowing the

*Note 9. Cf. p. 333.

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point of insertion to determine it with any confidence, but the historical unity is preserved, the sudden excursion to Galilee is avoided, and the Galileans are saved from the accusation of a premature rejection of His ministry. It is a curious matter that the narration sends Him to Galilee immediately after because of the hostility of Jerusalem—was He but the shuttle-cock of events? Such an interpolation is too great a strain upon the credulity of the ordinary mind. We may well regard the evidence as complete and add this incident to the others in the list.

There remains, then, but one further account for analysis. This also is recognized by the Synoptics; the entire story is presented by all four Gospels. The incident in question is the denial of Peter. It presents four different scenes—there is first, the boast of fidelity on the part of Peter; second, the scene in the Garden, where he is foremost in defense of the Master; third, the scene of the denial, which shifts so as to introduce a second set of personalities. The story, then, is of the developed type, and shows the composition of the later influences. Obviously, however, it had an existence as early as the writing of the primitive Mark; it seems to have been popular and to have had a wide circulation. Now, when the account in John is compared with that in the Synoptics

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it seems to be related at twice the length. Here, then, is the amplification of the incident from an earlier tradition. This amplification is in the direction of emphasizing the garden scene and in the rendering more vivid the personnel of the drama. It partakes, then, of the usual character of these longer stories. There are also certain editorial allusions which help in the interpretation. It is quite certain also that certain portions of the account by which the parts were wrought together have been lost. The reason for this is that the parts being distributed amidst the historical matter, the need of special connection was done away. This result is quite natural, and seems serviceable as proof. The arrangement in the context is thus more intimate; instead of one gap there is a series of them, and as the introductory part of the story is lost, the narrative reads more continuously. If, however, the sutures are examined in detail they still have their report to make. The first recital is set in the midst of Logia with which it has little connection. If these Logia be ignored, the account begins immediately after the defection of Judas. There is here an association of ideas. The account in Luke also differs from the narrative in Matthew and Mark, and has affinities with that in John. The situation is the same. In both there had been discussed the theme of service and humility.

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Luke then records words of tender expostulation addressed by Jesus to Peter, and these in turn lead to his vehement expression of loyalty; whereupon Jesus prophesies the threefold denial. If we surmise that some such words originally belonged to the Johannine account and have been lost, the enigma is thereby solved.

When we come to the second installment the matter is improved; the narrative unites on each side of the insertion in a really satisfactory fashion. The restored text reads:

“Then asked He them again, ‘Whom seek ye?’ And they said, ‘Jesus of Nazareth.’ Jesus answered, ‘I have told you that I am He; if therefore you seek Me, let these go their way.’ Then the band and the captains and officers of the Jews took Jesus and bound Him, and led Him away to Annas first; . . . and the high priest asked Jesus of His disciples and of His doctrine.”

Within the foregoing passage there are two insertions of the story as well as certain editorial comments. But the reading gains nothing by their presence; indeed, the admirable simplicity of the narrative as shown above is sadly broken in upon. Just before the final installment we read:

“Now Annas had sent Him bound to Caiaphas, the High Priest. Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas into the Hall of Judgment.”

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Between these two statements there is room for the final insertion; but the argument from this is invalidated in that the scene of Peter's action does not seem to have changed, but to all appearance he remains in the same courtyard where the first denial was enacted. If, however, we regard the expression about sending to Caiaphas as being misplaced, and belonging either earlier or as an editorial explanation, then we have the narrative sufficiently continuous to make it evident that the section of the story under consideration is also an intrusion. In this case the context will read:

" . . . Jesus answered, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou Me?' Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas to the Hall of Judgment."

If now we shall regard that section of the incident which is placed after the resurrection and represents the Master's interview with Peter as the closing part of this same narrative, then the whole series rounds into the same beautiful unity which is observable in each of the incidents examined. The story is so remarkable that it deserves a setting of its own, hence the different sections are here brought together and the lacunæ are filled with a brief statement which connects them and which may have been fused with the historical data, which

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constitute the present context. The parts thus suggestively restored are placed in parentheses:

“(Jesus said to Simon: ‘Simon, behold Satan asked to have you, but I have made supplication for you, that your faith fail not; and do you when once you have turned again, establish your brethren.’ Peter said unto Him), ‘Lord, I will lay down my life for Thy sake.’ Jesus answered Him: ‘Wilt thou lay down thy life for My sake? Verily, verily I say unto you, the cock shall not crow until thou hast denied Me thrice.’

“When they were in the garden the officers laid hands on Jesus. Then Simon Peter, having a sword, drew it and smote the high priest’s servant and cut off his right ear; and the servant’s name was Malchus. Then said Jesus unto Peter, ‘Put up thy sword into its sheath. The cup which My Father has given Me, shall I not drink it? (And they led Jesus away.)

“And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and another disciple; that disciple was known unto the high priest, and went in with Jesus into the palace of the high priest. But Peter stood at the door without. Then went out that other disciple, who was known unto the high priest, and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter. Then saith the damsel that kept the door unto Peter, ‘Art thou not also of this Man’s disciples?’ He saith, ‘I am not.’ And the servants and officers stood there, who had made a fire of coals, for it was cold; and they warmed themselves, and Peter stood there with them and warmed himself. . . . They said therefore unto him, ‘Art thou not also of His disciples?’ He denied and said, ‘I am not.’ One of

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the servants of the high priest being his kinsman whose ear Peter cut off, saith, ‘Did I not see thee in the garden with Him?’ Peter then denied again. And immediately the cock crew.

“(When then the Lord was risen He appeared unto Peter and said), ‘Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these?’ He said unto Him, ‘Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee.’ He saith unto him, ‘Feed My lambs.’ He saith unto him the second time, ‘Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me?’ He saith unto Him, ‘Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee.’ He saith unto him, ‘Feed My sheep.’ He saith unto him the third time, ‘Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me?’ Peter was grieved because He said unto Him the third time, ‘Lovest thou Me?’ and he said unto Him, ‘Lord, Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest that I love Thee.’ Jesus saith unto Him, ‘Feed My sheep.’ And when He had spoken this, He saith unto him, ‘Follow Me.’ Then Peter turning about seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; Peter seeing him said to Jesus, ‘Lord, and what about this man?’ Jesus saith unto him, ‘If I will that he tarry till I come, what is it to thee?* Follow thou Me.’”

Recorded as above the story divides into three equal parts, and brings us at the last to the consideration with which we started. It weaves the web of unity about the six incidents which have been analyzed and suggests for them a single authorship. The evidence for this may be briefly summed up. In each case

*The editorial comment which accompanies this saying may be regarded as proof that the death of John had controverted the saying. Cf. p. 391.

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there is the use of traditions that after having been worn by oral attrition had then been reduced to writing, and this writing made the basis of a further amplification. This amplification follows in each instance the same lines, its most marked characteristic being the vivifying of the subordinate personalities. This is done with great skill; so that the stories possess a high charm and are fit to circulate by themselves in their completeness. This implies a relatively late date, and an audience somewhat removed from the places where these events transpired and who would welcome such details as are presented; it is also an audience to whom the broader view of matter is welcome, for in every case the appeal is to the world-wide idea of Christianity and away from its narrowness. They are written for the Greek mind, and presumably from Aramæan traditions rendered with a great freedom. Such as they are, they came together in the possession of the final reviser of the Book of John. He incorporated them into the text at hand with a care that is noteworthy under all the circumstances, and with such comments of connection and interpretation as seemed necessary. Sometimes his own conception was in error, but in general the work of combination is well done—only careful observation will reveal the sutures. Thus working from the text of the last decade of the

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first century, we are able to reach back a little, and to find some clue to the origin of at least a part of the Book of John. But more than this, the process of its composition is suggested, and this opens still other fields of investigation. We find also a relationship with the Synoptics that is, to say the least, of a unique and significant character. Some of the chronological confusion has been cleared, and there is hope of further indications of a like helpful character.

One section of the Gospel of John has thus been discriminated. It stands by itself, so clearly defined as to invite the questions of its authorship. Imaginative elements it certainly possesses, but it is the historical imagination which is used which, by remaining true to the general spirit of the times, and catching the real significance of character, may, despite a fanciful use of details, none the less give a truer picture of the times and the man than any mere cataloguing of events or barren narration of sequences. This the genius of the writer has enabled him to do. It is doubtful indeed whether any pen portraits of the Master are more sympathetic or intelligent than these elaborated by some one not directly connected with the events, but who in the true spirit of a disciple had entered into the thought of the Master and had understood the influence which He exerted upon those among whom He went

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in and out. So that, despite a certain lack of historicity, we shall find these records of the very highest usefulness in reconstructing a vision of the great Master.

In the beginning of this analysis two types of incidents were noted; one has now been traced in its various suggestions, the other is the briefer, more compact form which deals with a single theme. Such incidents are easily identified, and so admit of specific consideration. The fact that at least one of this type has already been noted as an interpolation, and the further consideration that the longer and more complex incidents also seem to be inserted matter, contribute to the hypothesis that in many cases the lesser incidents may also have come into the Gospel from an extraneous source.

In the Book of John such incidents are eleven in number. While there are several others which may seem to belong to the class, yet in every such case there are marked differentiations, and we can best approach this phase of the problem after we have examined the passages in question. The first of the list is the calling of Philip and Nathanael, the second the Miracle at Cana in Galilee, the third the Cleansing of the Temple, and the fourth the Interview with Nicodemus. These follow in rapid sequence with a minimum of connecting comment. The Master passes rapidly from Jeru-

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salem to Galilee, and so again; there seems no purpose in the recorded movements; in fact there is thus raised an irreconcilable chronological problem which in the end has led many to reject the historicity of the Gospel. Such a confusion becomes evidence in the problem. But when the four incidents have been eliminated together with a few verses of "sayings," the narrative resumes at precisely the point where it had been engaged before the intrusion of the memorabilia. The argument is precisely the same as that which we have followed heretofore; it enables the same exhibit and justifies the same conclusion. The force of this can be well exhibited by quotation.

"Again the next day after, John stood, and two of his disciples; and looking upon Jesus as He walked, John said, 'Behold the Lamb of God!' And the two disciples heard him speak and they followed Jesus. Then Jesus turned and saw them following, and saith unto them, 'What seek ye?' They said unto Him, 'Rabbi, where dwellest Thou?' He saith unto them, 'Come and see.' They came and saw where He dwelt, and abode with Him that day, for it was about the tenth hour. One of the two which heard John, and followed Him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He first findeth his own brother Simon, and he brought him to Jesus. And when Jesus beheld him, He said, 'Thou art Simon, the son of Jonas; thou shalt be called Cephas.' After these things came Jesus and His disciples into the land of Judea; and there He tarried with them and baptized. And John also was baptizing in Ænon, near

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to Salim, because there was much water there; and they came and were baptized. For John was not yet cast into prison. There arose a question between some of John's disciples and the Jews about purifying; and they came to John and said unto him, 'Rabbi, He that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou bearest witness, behold the same baptizes, and all men come to Him.'

It would seem quite clear that there is no break in the text. The theme formally announced is the testimony of John. It is scarcely likely that there should be so marked a digression as the Galilean journey, and the special events in Jerusalem, and then a recurrence to the point formerly in hand. Primitive writers indeed are likely to digress, but they are equally unlikely to return. Besides this there is no place for the Galilean ministry before the imprisonment of John, which in the Synoptics is made the specific starting point for that work. If, then, the incidents in question be regarded as interpolations, the whole problem is at once solved. We are dealing not with questions of chronology, but with the motives which led to the insertion of the series at this point. The association of ideas explains the interpolation of the call of Nathanael in connection with the first acquaintance with Andrew and Simon. It would seem topically the logical place. Nor would there appear any reasons against it in an age when chronological accuracy was not highly

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esteemed. But having inserted the first memorabilia, it would be exceedingly natural for the editor to add those next in his series, since the text was lying before him. Thus the relationship would in reality be due to the copyist's convenience rather than any specific motive.

It appears also that each of these memorabilia has characteristics which are quite akin to the longer ones already examined. There is the same tendency to develop his story by conversation, and thus to vivify personality. There is indeed less opportunity for it than in the more complicated situations where the issue moves dramatically through several scenes; but under these limitations the matter is well done, so that the several persons live for us as do but few other individualities of the Gospel story. Nowhere else does Philip appear more definitely, while Nathanael is presented to us in clear outline. So also the mother of Jesus moves with simple dignity across the scene, in an ever-recognizable character; while the master of the feast comes to us across the centuries as a pleasant wit. Nicodemus also is an imperishable character; we have but to close our eyes to realize the scene—he moves with a naturalness that is indeed a proof of his reality.

There is also the same tendency to put into the mouth of Jesus genuine Logia. It was in-

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deed a splendid way of exemplifying His method, and may be regarded as highly characteristic of Him; but it is a point of identification that goes far to unite the two series of memorabilia. When also we recognize the presence of editorial comment, of quite the same nature even if less frequent, it seems clear that the identity of the two series is a tenable proposition.

Commentators have been quite clear in most instances that the “cleansing of the temple” belongs as it is given in the Synoptics in connection with the final controversy of the last Passover. They have been forced to a number of devices to explain its presence in this portion of the narrative; indeed, some have deemed this to discredit the Gospel. But we see again that this difficulty has vanished under the present hypothesis. So also the whole tenor of the conversation with Nicodemus belongs to a later period, and may well be deemed to have occurred after that interesting time when he had publicly protested against a premature judgment against Jesus.

Under the circumstances there is of course an editorial element present in the stories; sometimes it is by way of explanation and sometimes by way of connection, so as to give the effect of continuity. But always this effect is conspicuously transparent, and is patently used to link together incidents which lack a

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natural affinity. Indeed, the most rational explanation of their presence is the accident that they were so related in the collection from which they were copied. These relations imply that they had previously been brought together and had some circulation as a pamphlet of memorabilia.

The fifth of these incidents takes us again to Galilee; it presents a special version of what is otherwise given in the Synoptics, as some commentators believe, in the healing of the centurion's servant. There are indeed obvious differences, which make the identification difficult; yet it may well be that these differences are only such as would sometimes arise between the first and second phases of tradition. In the story itself we can observe the notable vividness and the conversational development of the theme. There is also the tendency to follow the chief character through a change of scene, and it may be noted that, as is not uncommonly the case, the Master Himself is subordinated to a presentation of the effect upon the suppliant. These characteristics are so familiar that we can hardly hesitate to class this story with the others. It is placed, however, in a natural break in the development of the principal narrative, so that no argument can be drawn from this source; and we are obliged to rest the case with its general resemblance to

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the other instances which have been examined in detail. It may even be that this situation strengthens the general argument, for it would have been very unusual indeed if in so many insertions at least one had not coincided with the changes in the text.

The sixth instance is the colloquy with his brethren recorded in the opening verses of the seventh chapter. Here again we confront an historical difficulty in the contrast between what Jesus said and did. His answer to His brethren is at least disingenuous as the record now stands, nor does there seem any adequate reason for His evading their taunt. But if the matter be regarded as an incident, true with reference to one or another of the feasts of the Jews, and given here out of its natural place, then this difficulty of interpretation entirely disappears. But the theme is sufficiently akin to the public feasts of the Jews to explain how it would come to be inserted in this place. So we have the disappearance of a difficulty on the one hand, and on the other an explanation of editorial preference. These considerations are further borne out by a perusal of the context with the passage eliminated. There is a great gain in continuity, and the narrative moves swiftly toward the vital point. There is here a new departure in the account, but it opens in

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the sentence before the insertion, and proceeds continuously with that which follows:

"Now the Jews Feast of Tabernacles was at hand, and the Jews sought Him at the feast, and said, 'Where is He?' and there was much murmuring among the people concerning Him; for some said, 'He is a good man!' Others said, 'Nay, but He deceives the people.' Howbeit no man spake openly of Him for fear of the Jews. Now about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the Temple and taught."

To adjust the interpolation and to explain its relation to the other parts of the narrative there is the same tendency to editorial expression. We notice also the same placing of Logia in the mouth of Jesus which is the favorite literary device of the writer of the memorabilia. Thus by virtue of the general character of the passage, its relation to the context, and the setting it occupies we may place this also in association with the various interpolations already considered.

Concerning the seventh incident on the list we need not tarry, for it deals with the woman taken in adultery; and this by common consent is an interpolation. Indeed, the problem concerning it is of the reverse order—how it came to be omitted from many texts rather than as to its insertion in its present place. The story so clearly shares the literary characteristics of

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the others which we have examined, and develops by much the same processes, that we are quite inclined to admit it to this special collection, and to explain its absence from many of the most ancient texts merely as an accident, a failure to transcribe it in its proper place. Later, when the error had been made, it was too late to call back the books, so the initial circulation, and the more authoritative one, omitted this vital story. Hence one line of transcription would always lack the passage and the other be of lesser authority. Be this as it may, it suffices here to say that the matter of interpolation is decisively established, and so gives us the typical conditions under which it took place. From these conditions the analysis has been placed upon a critical basis; canons have been developed which have guided in the solution of the problems wherever it has arisen. This much at least has resulted from the inadvertence which omitted the story and the ineffectual effort to remedy it and carry out the original plans of the editor.

It seems that in the next incident the writer has missed his opportunity—it admitted of a greater development than he has given it, and this on the basis of a known tradition. The story concerns the anointing of Jesus with the costly ointment. It could easily have been combined with the other story of Martha, cum-

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bered with much serving. Indeed, it is possible that so it actually was, for the incident is brief beyond the usual wont in such cases, and would, with the other, make the standard length for the briefer memorabilia. When, however, we turn to the matter before us, we are again struck with the richness of the present account as compared with that in the Synoptics. Here the personnel of the company stands out in a marked way. The giver of the ointment has an individuality presented in but a few strokes of the pen; we see Judas in the meanness of his heart; while Jesus is the same gracious figure that continually greets us through the series of incidents. Even the usual Logia is not lacking, nor do we look far for the identifying editorial comment. All the characteristics are in evidence. Tested also by the elimination canon, it is found that the narrative is but interrupted rather than helped forward by the account. The narrative proceeds as follows:

“Then Jesus, six days before the Passover, came to Bethany, where Lazarus was which had been dead, whom He raised from the dead. Much people of the Jews therefore knew that He was there, and they came not for Jesus’ sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom He had raised from the dead. But the chief priests consulted that they might put Lazarus also to death, because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away and believed on Jesus.”

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These comments indeed create a situation which invites the introduction of both the story of the Raising of Lazarus and also this Feast in Bethany; but the action of the narrative is so swift, and the event so tense, that it is altogether unlikely that the writer would pause even for so simple and affecting a story as the passage contains. Such, in fact, is not his method, for we already begin to get glimpses of the plan and intention of the ground narrative into which the interpolations are made. This will become clearer with further analysis; but in the end it becomes one of the strongest of the contributory arguments.

In the midst of this swiftly-moving drama we have another digression which challenges attention. Certain Greeks are represented as desiring to see the Master; a voice from heaven is heard. These are unusual things, and scarcely constitute a story; yet the incident has been wrought into an account that corresponds as nearly as its nature will permit with the style which is peculiar to the memorabilia. The likeness is not conclusive, for there is the lack of the dramatic unity—the Greeks drop out of sight, and Jesus holds the center of attention while He utters a great prayer, which is answered by the opening heaven. The whole description is couched more nearly in the terms and spirit of the interview with Nathanael.

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This may be a bond of connection. But while the internal character is less evident, the context is conclusive. The incident is associated with certain Logia, but following these there is the most striking resumption of the history. No suture is more clearly defined than this—it becomes its own demonstration. The text reads:

“ . . . For this cause also the people met Him, for that they heard that He had done this miracle; the Pharisees therefore said among themselves, ‘Perceive ye now how ye prevail nothing? Behold the world is gone after Him.’ . . . But though He had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on Him. Nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed on Him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess Him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue; for they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.”

We come now to the final incidents of the series, two items that have an intricate association; these passages deal with the Washing of the Feet and the Defection of Judas. The thirteenth chapter in which they are recorded makes a threefold beginning before the story gets in motion. This in itself is suspicious; but when to this fact is added that the third opening relates to the event immediately following, the second opening to a story told a few verses farther on, and the first opening to an account beyond this—it affords ground for considering

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that we are dealing with an interpolation within an interpolation; thus

Narrative (incident [anecdote] incident) narrative.

When the incident and anecdote, with some associated Logia, are excised, the narrative closes in such satisfying fashion that the sutures are seen to match. It is the canon of criticism which has heretofore justified itself. The exhibit can be briefly made:

"Now, before the feast of the Passover, when His hour was come that He should depart out of this world, having loved His own He loved them to the end. . . . Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things to His hands, and that He came forth from God and went to God, . . . said,

'Now is the Son of man glorified,
And God shall glorify Him in Himself,
And straightway shall He glorify Him.

Little children, yet a little while am I with you . . ."

The solemn words with which the passage begins are quite out of keeping with the practical demonstration of equality which stands next in the usual order. On the other hand they are the very essence of the disclosures in the dialogue as presented in the excerpt above.

The interrelations of the two incidents which lie between the introduction and the logion of the narrative are such as to suggest their fusion

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in whatever manuscript was used by the final editor; that is to say this fusion was previously accomplished, and the combined passage interpolated as it now appears.

It is, however, quite possible to separate the elements of this fusion. The accretion of brief Logia somewhat complicates the matter, but when allowance is made therefor the incidents gain in clearness by the separation. If the allusion with which the fused passage begins be followed as to subject matter, the story of the defection of Judas stands revealed.

During supper, the devil having already put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray Him, Jesus said, 'I speak not of you all; I know whom I have chosen; from henceforth I tell you before it comes to pass, that when it is come to pass you may believe.' When Jesus had thus said, He was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said,"

and so to the end of the incident:

"He then having received the sop, went out straight-way; and it was night."

The connection between this and the original narrative is easily made by the transitional comment, "When therefore He was gone out, Jesus", and so the logion follows as shown in the excerpt from the original narrative.

There remains, then, the story of the Washing of the Feet—this is completely told save

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for an introductory clause. It is quite possible that the words with which the chapter opens may have pertained to the incident. In which case it would read:

“Now, before the feast of the Passover, . . . Jesus rose from the supper, and laid aside His garments ”

The passage can be spared from the ground work, which would then begin, by the change of a letter,

“When His hour was come that He should depart out of this world.”

There is considerable critical justification for surmising a change of the letter in any event. But the issue is comparatively trivial, for with such a redundancy of beginnings as has been shown the beginning of this incident might easily have been lost in the fusion.

The several memorabilia which have been thus discriminated have marked characteristics in common. They have a similar brevity and a dramatic quality which would give them currency. They are, however, of the later traditional development, with less of the immediate perception of locality and time. It is possible to regard them as proceeding from the same

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hand. This hypothesis is emphasized by occasional hints of their association in manuscript, previous to their becoming imbedded in the Fourth Gospel. The critical minutiae upon which such an hypothesis must depend for confirmation offer an attractive field for research.

III

THE COMPOSITION OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

THERE has existed among students of the problem of Gospel origins a tendency to divide the issue as between the Synoptic and Johannine problems, one giving major attention to the one phase and others to the other. But the analysis which has now been made, while affecting only the Gospel of John, shows the impracticability of such a division. And indeed it is fair to suggest that possibly much of the confusion concerning the subject has arisen from dividing what in the nature of its origin was not divided. Both Gospels are of the same age, broadly speaking—the same general conditions produced them. Therefore we may reasonably expect to find the same symptoms in both. Because heretofore this similarity has not been sufficiently recognized, they have been separated and accorded a different treatment. But the real difficulty is in the analysis rather than in the nature of the data.

These reflections grow out of the fact that we have found in the Book of John an element

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which has exact correspondence with the chief constituent factor of the Book of Mark; that is, the Gospels are seen to be largely composed of Memorabilia. So far as this factor is concerned they deserve to be placed on the same plane and studied by comparison. The element of memorabilia in John has now been discriminated; it is natural, then, to turn to the Synoptics and analyze them with the same end in view. The fact that they are composed of such elements is too patent to require proof. But the nature of these factors and their possible origin is still a problem. This, then, can be approached by such a system of analysis as has already been tested. But in this case the continuity of the general narrative is lacking as a test. We are dealing not with interpolations into a larger text, but with aggregations of incidents more or less closely connected. It is highly probable that all three of the Synoptic Gospels used, each in its own fashion, the same original. Where, then, the sequence of the events presented in the several Gospels is the same, we can be reasonably confident that we have the original arrangement. Where variations from this sequence occur they will require an explanation. If no explanation centered in the processes of transcription or combination be naturally suggested, then we shall naturally have recourse to the supposition that we are

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dealing with a distinctive element. This supposition will in each case admit of careful testing. It is too much to suppose that at this distance we can reach an absolute finality in such matters; but an approximate conclusion will be of immense service in interpreting the times.

There have been many scholars who have relied upon the minutiae of scholarship for the determination of such matters, and have sought to distinguish manuscripts by the use of particular words. There is indeed some value to such usages, but when it is remembered that these narratives have been rendered from another language into the Greek, and that accuracy of quotation was never an important matter with these ancients, it would seem indeed that the legitimate usefulness of such a method is easily transcended. It is more fitting to rely upon the broader distinction, such as are quite patent to the ordinary observer and can be tested without dependence upon a scholarship which, by being finical, sometimes loses all proportion. With such a caution in mind we can the more readily proceed with the simple analysis now proposed. The first step indeed is one which the veriest layman in such matters can take for himself—it is simply the careful listing of the several events narrated, with the view of determining their sequence in the several

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narratives. The matter can best be done by using Mark as the basis, and by giving to each incident its proper number, and then carrying on the same process with the other Gospels and setting the results in a proper comparison.

We may note in beginning this analysis that the Book of Mark lends itself to the process; that is to say, that it naturally admits of such divisions as have a special unity and are easy of identification. It is in effect merely a sequence of these memorabilia. These then may be catalogued as follows:

1. Work of John Baptist.....	Matt.	Luke
2. Baptism of Jesus.....	Matt.	Luke
3. Journey to Galilee.....	Matt.	Luke
4. Call of Disciples.....	Matt.	....
5. In Capernaum.....	Matt.	Luke
6. Casts out unclean spirit .....	....	Luke
7. Heals Peter's mother-in-law.....	....	Luke
8. Solitary prayer.....	....	Luke
9. Heals the leper.....	Matt.	Luke
10. Heals the palsied man.....	....	Luke
11. Calls Levi—Logia.....	....	Luke
12. Through the cornfields.....	....	Luke
13. Heals the withered hand.....	....	Luke
14. Ordains The Twelve.....	....	Luke
15. Relatives would seize Him.....	....	....
16. Gives the Parables.....	....	Luke
17. Stills the storm.....	Matt.	Luke
18. Heals the demoniac.....	Matt.	Luke
19. Jairus' daughter.....	Matt.	Luke
20. Visits Nazareth.....

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21.	Commissions The Twelve.....	Matt.	Luke
22.	Death of John the Baptist.....	Matt.	Luke
23.	Miracle of five loaves and two fishes.....	Matt.	Luke
24.	Walks the water.....	Matt.	....
25.	Controversy with Pharisees.....	Matt.	....
26.	Sidonian woman.....	Matt.	....
27.	Heals the deaf and dumb.....	Matt.	....
28.	Feeds the four thousand.....	Matt.	....
29.	Sign from heaven.....	Matt.	....
30.	Question of leaven.....	Matt.	....
31.	Peter's confession.....	Matt.	Luke
32.	The Transfiguration.....	Matt.	Luke
33.	The epileptic.....	Matt.	Luke
34.	Greatness of child.....	Matt.	Luke
35.	Independent disciple.....	....	Luke
36.	Delivers Logia.....	Matt.	....
37.	Questions of divorce.....	Matt.	....
38.	Invites the children.....	Matt.	Luke
39.	Rich young man.....	Matt.	Luke
40.	Announces His death.....	....	Luke
41.	Ambition of James and John....	Matt.	....
42.	Blind Bartimæus.....	Matt.	Luke
43.	Enters Jerusalem.....	Matt.	Luke
44.	Cleanses the Temple.....	Matt.	Luke
45.	Controversies.....	Matt.	Luke
46.	The widow's mite.....	....	Luke
47.	The Prophecies.....	Matt.	Luke
48.	The Anointing.....	Matt.	....
49.	Judas plots.....	Matt.	Luke
50.	The Last Supper.....	Matt.	Luke
51.	Peter's boast.....	Matt.	Luke
52.	Gethsemane.....	Matt.	Luke
53.	The arrest.....	Matt.	Luke
54.	The faithful young man.....

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55.	Peter's denial	Matt.	Luke
56.	Jesus is accused	Matt.	Luke
57.	Peter again	Matt.	...
58.	Jesus before Pilate	Matt.	Luke
59.	Barabbas	Matt.	Luke
60.	The crucifixion	Matt.	Luke
61.	Death of Jesus	Matt.	Luke
62.	The burial	Matt.	Luke
63.	The women at the tomb	Matt.	Luke

A casual scrutiny of this table reveals the fact that the discrepancies between the several Gospels fall into two groups. In the Matthew group there are ten incidents which are omitted in regular sequence. In the Luke group there are seven so omitted. But when we examine other parts of Matthew we find that the omitted passages occur in other connections, but in substantially the same sequence. If then these incidents had come to the compiler of Matthew in the form of a completed Mark, why did he vary from the order? On the other hand, when he came to use them how did he chance to have the same order of insertion which obtains in Mark in its final form? The answer is relatively simple—we have only to suppose the existence of two series of memorabilia, the one presenting the form in which Matthew and Mark agree as to sequence, and the other containing the series of incidents which are differently inserted. Having such documents in hand, we may surmise that Mark effected the

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combination in one way and Matthew in another. Using this as the hypothesis, we may next inquire as to the nature of the omitted series. When they are examined they are found in fact to contain such incidents as center in the city of Capernaum, to be in effect a "Gospel of Capernaum." If we add to this series the incidents in which Luke varies from Mark, but in which Matthew and Mark are agreed, each placing one at the beginning and the other at the ending of the series, we have a complete cycle of events—twelve in number. This becomes apparent when they are listed together. This Capernaum document then would contain:

- The calling of the disciples;
- The casting out of the unclean spirit;
- The healing of Peter's mother-in-law;
- The healing of the palsied man;
- The calling of Levi;
- The incident of the cornfields;
- Healing the man with the withered hand;
- The visit from His relatives;
- The giving the parables;
- The visit to Nazareth.

Thus tentatively at least we are brought to the same conclusion as was reached in the case of the Johannine memorabilia—that these are grouped in minor documents and finally have come to their place in the present Gospels by a process of combination. Each instance sustains the other, and both agree so thoroughly with the

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tendency of the times that the conclusion may be accepted in principle at least.

We may then for the time being pass boldly to the assumption that the portions omitted by Luke have a similar identity and constituted an addition to the Capernaum collection. This is the more probable from the fact that while Luke elsewhere follows the arrangement in Mark with great fidelity, yet these omitted passages cover the same ground as the basic work, and the keener editorial discrimination of Luke was averse to such duplication.

Hypothetically then we have at least two documents of memorabilia before us, in addition to that inferred from John, so that these last are not unique except in their literary quality. One of these groups is the ground work with which the other has been associated. It becomes important, then, to trace this ground work through the three Gospels and to observe the connections which it makes with the other material; in such a way the principles of interpolation and combination will become still further apparent, and may indeed be finally fixed.

The first step in this process is to examine the Book of Mark with reference to the connection wherever there has been an interpolation, as indicated in the foregoing hypothesis. The first of such lacunæ is Mark 1: 16-34.

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The text on either side, when read continuously, is as follows:

“Now after John was cast into prison, Jesus came into Galilee preaching the gospel of the Kingdom of God, and saying, ‘The time is fulfilled, the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe the gospel.’ And He preached in their synagogues throughout all Galilee and cast out devils.”

The connection in this case is surely satisfactory enough to meet the most exigent of minds. So apparent is the continuity that we may at once pass on to the next lacuna.

The story of the healing of the leper is common to all three Gospels, but there is a long passage following which is omitted from Matthew—this gives us a gap from Mark 1:45 to 4:35. The context when united has a certain easy transition. The question indeed hinges as to whether or no the thirty-fifth verse is to be reckoned with the ground work; such an interpretation gives a very fitting transition. Beginning with Mark 1:45, we read:

“But he went out and began to publish it much, and to blaze abroad the matter, insomuch that Jesus could no more openly enter the city, but was without in the desert places; and they came to Him from every quarter. And the same day, when the even was come, He said unto them, ‘Let us pass over unto the other side.’ And when they had sent away the multitude, they took Him even as He was in the ship; and there were also with Him other little ships.”

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The situation which is thus presented is cohesive; the psychology of this departure coincides with the caution to the leper against publicity. On the other hand the narrative as it stands has a situation in which there is a private conference with the disciples immediately before the voyage; the multitude has already disappeared. So that the situation favors the argument for the dual document.

The third lacuna arises from the omission in Luke. Immediately after the feeding of the five thousand Luke passes to the account of Peter's confession and the transfiguration. We have seen that in this he agrees with the Johannine account. But while the analysis of John separates the text at that point, there is none the less a certain supposition that there was a tradition to this effect or else they would not have been so united. So far as it has any bearing upon the matter this fact favors the theory of interpolation. The argument is further strengthened by the reading of the context:

“And they that did eat were five thousand men. And Jesus went out and His disciples into the towns of Cæsarea Philippi; and by the way He asked His disciples, saying unto them, ‘Whom do men say that I am?’ ”

In this fashion, it is worthy of note, some of the most serious of chronological difficulties disappear. The itinerary acquires an intelli-

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gibility that is remarkable. We see the Master preparing for His final attempt upon Jerusalem. Also we find it possible to reconcile the dual account of the feeding the multitudes. It thus appears that instead of having the same miracle twice demonstrated, we are dealing with two documents in which the same event is twice narrated. In point of fact the sequence of events after the two accounts is not at all dissimilar; in both the destination is Bethsaida, which is in the direction of the scene of the transfiguration.

The other divergences both in Matthew and Luke are of such a nature that they come easily under the head of editorial arrangement, or else the errors of the copyists; they deal with matters quite secondary. Hence, so far as the ground work in its relation to Mark is concerned, the theory of the fusion of documents seems quite to meet all the facts in the case. It is not without significance that "the ground work" when thus discriminated turns out to be of just that length which corresponds exactly to the convenience of bookmaking in that age. The document has a total of about ten thousand words, or enough to fill the seventy-eight sheets of papyrus which went to the making of a roll. This would be almost a decisive reason in the writing of a primitive book. Frequently these conveniences determine form and content even

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in our time; much more then in an age when flexibility in such matters was less easily realized.

When now we turn to examine the relation of this hypothetical ground work to the completed Matthew, we have a further problem to consider. The extraneous matter will in reality possess the larger interest. This extraneous matter confronts us with the opening words. It is not until the third chapter has been reached that we come upon the familiar comparison with Mark. It is enough for the present to note the general character of this introductory material. It consists of several general traditions, wrought into a continuous account of the birth and youth of Jesus. In addition to this is a genealogical table such as almost any Jew who had pride in his descent might be supposed to have. The account of John the Baptist is somewhat amplified and various Logia are added. The baptism is succeeded by an amplification of the temptation, which is barely noted in Mark. This account has a definite literary form, which gives it a somewhat later age.

The reference to the Galilean journey is amplified by quotations from Old Testament prophecy, and thus discloses a marked characteristic of the final editor of this Gospel. So soon as the general statement is made, we come across an example of the teaching ministry

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of Jesus in the form of a collection of Logia commonly known as the Sermon on the Mount. This is extraneous matter, and carries us to the opening of the eighth chapter before the narrative is resumed. We have then from "The Ground Work" the account of the healing of the leper, followed by an extraneous reminiscence of the healing of the servant of the Centurion, which has been identified with the Johannine account of healing the child of the royal courter. The account is in a somewhat vivid style, and suggests the later development. After this comes another passage from "the Ground Work," followed by an insertion of a logion spoken to would-be disciples. At this point we touch the Ground Work again in the stilling of the storm and the healing of the demoniac, followed by the healing of Jairus' daughter. Between these passages certain of the incidents from the Capernaum document are inserted; there is also an incident of the healing of two blind men; then we come to the choosing of The Twelve and the sending them forth. This is made the occasion for the introduction of extensive Logia relating to discipleship, and following it come other sayings respecting John the Baptist. From the Capernaum document comes the incident of the cornfields and the healing of the man with the withered hand, and then we pass again to

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other Logia; after which we again follow the Capernaum document through the visit from His relatives, and the parables, and finally His visit to Nazareth. At this point we again touch the Ground Work in the account of the death of John the Baptist and the miracle of the loaves and fishes. Then we have the group of memorabilia which were not before Luke. These include the walking on the sea, the Sidonian woman, the second account of the miraculous feeding of thousands, and various controversial Logia. Thereafter, except for several minor differences, there is good fidelity to "the Ground Work." But there is also a fine selection of parables and significant Logia presented from time to time. But so far as the narrative is concerned the relationship is close.

When now these differences are summed up, it is found that they consist, first of all, in the introduction of many Logia and parables not included in the more primitive Gospel; secondly, there is a marked difference in the use of the Capernaum document. In addition to this there are several instances of the introduction of isolated incidents which must have had their separate existence. Of these several elements, the Capernaum document has already been discriminated. The parables and Logia are in a classification by themselves which will presently receive a detailed analysis. This leaves only

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the isolated memorabilia for special consideration.

The first of these is the healing of the centurion's servant. It is set between the passage from the Ground Work relating the healing of the leper and that one of the Capernaum document which tells of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law. This fact and the further fact that it serves to introduce the Capernaum incidents, and indeed specifically locates its own miracle as being in Capernaum, may indicate that it is really a part of that document, which by some accident was not used in the compilation of Mark. This supposition so entirely relieves us of the necessity of assuming a further document that it has an immediate commendation. The other instances are so closely associated with Logia that they may easily be regarded as explanatory comment to enable the better introduction of such passages. Of such a nature is the saying to the proposed disciples, and the one which precedes the sending out of His disciples.

The Gospel of Luke provides us with further complications to unravel, for while there is fidelity to Mark in the sequence of incidents there is a freedom in minor matters, which shows a lively sense of editorial privilege. There is also the introduction of a considerable quantity of other material, which is treated with a

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great liberty. These variations require explanation, and this is to be found either in the nature of the documents from which the author worked or in his own disposition to depart from his text whenever his personal recollection, his memory, or his editorial bias seemed to justify him in so doing. The changes in question are too extensive to admit of explanation in any large degree as due to errors of transcription or variant readings. Under these circumstances it is well to have the material properly catalogued.

1. The infancy Gospel, occupying the first two chapters, and agreeing in part with the account in Matthew, but introducing new and highly-developed factors from other sources.
2. Examples of the sayings of John the Baptist; a genealogical list, and the account of the temptation; each of these being differentiated from the records in Matthew.
3. An incident of the visit to Nazareth, which is presented with vividness and detail.
4. The Capernaum manuscript is drawn upon, and in its distribution the general arrangement in Mark is followed.
5. An elaborated account of the calling of the disciples which has strong affinities with the account in the last chapter of John.
6. The Capernaum document is again followed; after which follow various Logia which have a general resemblance to some reported in Matthew.
7. Several incidents are presented: the centurion's

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servant, the widow's son, the message from John the Baptist, Logia concerning John, other Logia. The resemblance of these to the Matthew account is clear but not definite.

8. The parable told in the Pharisee's house, an account of the companions of Jesus, and a recurrence to the Capernaum series. At this point the Ground Work is again followed.

9. An account of the independent disciple (after Mark), a Logion to would-be disciples (after Matthew).

10. The commissioning of seventy heralds, with instructions as to methods, following the Matthew record.

11. Parable of the Good Samaritan, with introduction. Incident of Mary and Martha; parable of prayer.

12. Controversy with the Pharisees; various Logia appropriate thereto.

13. Request to arbitrate, with related Logia. Several Logia spoken especially to the disciples.

14. Teaching concerning sudden death; parable of unfruitful tree; healing of the infirm woman.

15. General teaching with examples; a warning against Herod. Parables of the invited guests, of the great feast, of the cost of discipleship, of the prodigal son, of the wasteful steward, of Dives and Lazarus; other Logia.

16. The healing of the ten lepers; of the end of things; of persistence in prayer, of the Pharisee and the publican. At this point the narrative is resumed from the Ground Work.

17. The incident of Zaccheus and the parable of the ten pounds. Thereafter the sequence agrees quite closely with Mark, until the account of the crucifixion has been given.

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18. The appearance of the risen Lord to the disciples on the way to Emmaus; His appearance to the disciples in a group.

This catalogue at once discloses several interesting facts. The proportion of extraneous matter is very large—so great in fact that the Ground Work seems to be rather the thread upon which the beads are strung than any substantial part of the Gospel. The beads, to carry out the figure, are of three general kinds. First, Logia, which in general have strong affinity with the Logia in Matthew, though there are some additions and the whole is treated in a highly independent manner; second, parables, many of which are peculiar to this Gospel; third, several memorabilia of an interesting character, which are nowhere else recorded. It is this last class which has an immediate interest.

But before we can well proceed to their analysis we must glance briefly at those which Luke presents in common with Matthew. These may be listed as follows:

The infancy records, including the first appearance in the Temple.

The elaborated account of the temptation.

The healing of the centurion's servant.

The message from and to John the Baptist.

Logia to would-be disciples.

Of these the infancy records raise a special group of questions and do not, in fact, belong

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to the Gospel form under consideration. They stand for a tradition which rapidly assumed a highly-developed type. In part at least their chief interest is related to another phase of the Gospel development. The elaborated account of the Temptation possesses literary qualities which assign it to the basic document; in this it agrees with the incident of the Centurion's Servant.* Their sequence is the same in both Matthew and Luke. In such a case the problem is to account for their absence from Mark, rather than their presence in the other Gospels. Difficulties in transmission sufficiently explain this. The remaining items are in reality little more than historical introductions to brief Logia. Thus this group of Matthew-Luke incidents ceases to have any special importance.

What, then, is the character of those incidents which Luke alone presents; what are their affinities; and what their probable origin? These are real and vital problems. The answer can be reached only through the consideration of each item in the series. The first of these introduces the Galilean ministry—it is the visit to Nazareth. The incident itself shows that historically it is misplaced, for it contains a reference to a successful ministry in Capernaum, when as yet there has been no record of His sojourn there. All the data concerning the

*Note 10.

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Capernaum activities are given later; hence we may conclude that this incident is inserted at this place by reason of editorial bias rather than due to initial composition. It is quite clear then that the passage had its separate existence, and circulated either alone or in some group yet to be determined. The detail of the account is quite definite—the scene is brought before us in a vivid way—there is no difficulty in reproducing in the imagination. There is a resort to Logia to illustrate the Master's teaching; the argument is sketched rather than developed word for word—there seems a reliance upon memory rather than on a document presenting the sayings with verbal fidelity. The conversation which is suggested does not come from specific persons, but sums up the mental attitude of the crowd in a fashion quite akin to the narrative portions of the Gospel of John. The passage is set between a connective fragment and a portion from the Capernaum document. This context reads consecutively when the passage is omitted; but the whole fabric is so loosely wrought that this is not decisive.

The second incident is the calling of the disciples. It ventures upon remarkable detail and fills out the picture which is only suggested in Mark and Matthew. The incident is substituted for that event. The setting, how-

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ever, is quite contrary to the presumptions to which the other accounts give rise. Here the Master is in the full tide of success, and has for convenience made use of a boat from which to speak to the multitudes; after this He suggests that the owner launch out and let down his net. The story develops by the conversational method, quite as is the case in the Johannine memorabilia. The literary method indeed is precisely the same, and the account need only be in the Book of John to be accepted as the product of the same mind. This is the more remarkable from the fact that it has such strong affinities with an account which is made basal to a resurrection scene. This resemblance has already been suggested. Since then the incident is historically misplaced, the indications of the context are all the more important. These quite indicate that it is an interpolation. By the preceding passage the Master is on an inland tour; the passage which immediately follows gives an incident of this tour. The context when united reads as follows:

“ . . . But He said unto them, ‘I must preach the good tidings of the Kingdom to other cities also; for therefore was I sent.’ And He was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee; and it came to pass, while He was in one of the cities, behold a man full of leprosy . . .”

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To insert in the midst of such statements the account of the seaside preaching and the calling of the disciples is doubtless to neglect all natural sequences.

The third instance is the healing of the widow's son. The scene is placed at Nain, but the events immediately preceding are at Capernaum as well as those which follow. This of course is only partially significant, for there is here a complex of the Capernaum document and the Logia notation. It so chances, however, that the Logion sent as a message to the imprisoned John the Baptist has the clause, "The dead are raised up." This would afford an abundant topical reason for the interpolation of the incident. Thus in the absence of narrative reasons for its presence, and with an excellent interpolative reason at hand, we may well incline to regard the passage as an interpolation. The incident is in a lively style, and while much briefer than many of such passages, it none the less manages to convey the sense of personality. One strange feature is the comment, that the report went through the region of Judæa. This is a geographical confusion which has in it a possible clue to the origin of the incident.

The incident of the supper in the house of the Pharisee has a great resemblance to the

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scene recorded in John and the other Gospels concerning the anointing of Jesus by Mary. There are of course equally marked differences. From these facts it would appear that we are dealing with that fusion of tradition which arises at a later date when the first clear recollections have been dimmed. The account of the anointing was in fact unusually brief; this is particularly rich in its development. It is quite possible that the literary instinct predominated over the historical; and that regarding his data as separably true it did not appear to the writer to be any liberty with the facts to unite them in an effective whole. It seems highly improbable that two events of such similar character should have taken place. Granting the predominance of the literary impulse, we have an example of the late developments of tradition. The method is conversational, with the use of Logia for purposes of illustration. It is an incident in precisely the same style of treatment as is evidenced in the Johannine memorabilia. It must be regarded as in some way related thereto. The passage is placed in a context where its presence or omission is immaterial to the sequences.

The brief but highly effective passage concerning the two sisters is next on the list. It is a narrative incident placed between parables, and therefore out of logical place. The

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story is developed in the conversational method, and so effectively is the personality of the three persons emphasized that the two sisters have stood since as the types of two moods. This and the fact that these persons are made familiar to us through the Johannine memorabilia suggests again the relationship between the two series.

In the same textual conditions, that is in the midst of a series of parables, we find another incident, which has no affinity with either of the passages which flank it. It seems to have come to its present place merely by reason of some convenience of transcription. We recognize also the same literary characteristic, and have no difficulty in giving it a place in association with other incidents of this group which we are analyzing. Whatever holds for the group will hold for this instance. The whole story of the healing of the infirm woman has verity stamped upon it; but the method is of the later type.

Practically the same analysis holds for the story of the healing of the ten lepers. It is significant only to remark that the emphasis of the story is upon the gratitude of the Samaritan. So also the story of Zaccheus shows these marked literary characteristics, and the development of personality is most admirable. The incident is set in a text following a portion of

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the ground work with which it has local connection, and a parable which is presented in anticipation of His approach to Jerusalem. When both the incident and the parable are omitted the ground work proceeds with proper continuity.

But the crowning incident in Luke is the resurrection story of the disciples on their way to Emmaus. It is presented in the most effective literary style and is perfectly in the vein of the longer narratives of the Johannine memorabilia. We have the conversational method at its best; we have the change of scene; and the steady moving to a climax. This passage stands at the close of the Gospel, so that questions of context scarcely have a bearing upon it. There is indeed a very adequate fusion of the story itself with a general summary of the resurrection scenes. But this is clearly the effect of editorial fusion. The incident is for all practical purposes a unit in itself.

Thus when the very remarkable group of memorabilia which is peculiar to Luke is examined, several things stand out on the face of the returns. They have among themselves a considerable unity of treatment so much so, that they must be regarded as coming from the same hand. In point of fact then we have a further collection of memorabilia, quite distinguishable from the other elements which

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enter into the Gospel, and which seems, in fact, to have been distributed after the Gospel had been composed. Whether this was done before the formal publishing of the book is quite another question, for it may well have been merely the method pursued by Luke in developing his story.

But the most significant fact of all is the strong kinship between this group and the Johannine incidents. The relationship is so marked that it suggests deliberate imitation by the one writer or the other, or that both groups of memorabilia have proceeded from the same writer. But questions of authorship must await a more complete analysis of the Gospel material. Thus far we have but traced the development of incidental tradition into its several written forms, including a late and highly-developed literary mastership. We are in a position to understand that it was inevitable that in the case of the Master as well as of other great teachers the things which He said and did should get themselves told. At first these reminiscences would be oral; then as the auditors increased in number and the circle widened beyond the power of apostolic contact, it was inevitable that they should come to be written down; and these writings would presently be collected in little groups, which would become the basis of further telling, so that upon a

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simple story would be developed a literary form. On the other hand it was likewise inevitable that the several groups would themselves be compacted with other narratives to the end that all might survive. It was literally true as Luke has stated in his introduction to his Gospel, "That many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which are most assuredly believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word." There could not be a better statement of the analysis which has now been made. It is a summary of that reduction to writing of the oral traditions, some of whose results have thus been traced.

IV

CHARACTER AND SCOPE OF HEBREW POETRY

IN the analysis of the Gospels, as thus far made, we have had to refer repeatedly to the presence of "sayings" or "Logia." These have at times appeared in the form of possible interpolations, and at other times in the warp and woof of narrative or memorabilia. This is true of each of the Gospels, less so of Mark, but equally of each of the other three. This is a suggestion that they are the product of practically the same conditions. These "sayings" bulk so largely that it is important to reach some adequate conclusion as to their nature. This importance is enhanced by the fact that whereas in narrative and memorabilia we are dealing with traditions concerning the Master, in these "sayings" we have His reputed teaching. Since then His teaching is the primary goal of the investigation, we reach now a problem that can not be over-emphasized.

We are to understand that the Master did not teach in the form of extended theses, with elaborate discussion. Among the Greek masters this was not uncommon; but the Jewish rabbis,

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for many good reasons, were inclined to another form of presentation. This in part is traceable to tradition. When the prophets were in vogue their appeal was primarily oral, hence they expressed themselves in brief but effective utterances which in some cases were preserved in writing, but more commonly were not. Indeed, the greatest of the prophets has left nothing but traditions and folk stories. What has survived of prophetic utterance is but a mere fragment of the whole—their message was to their own age rather than to the generations which should follow. So it is not surprising that they made little effort to be remembered. With the writer of the second part of Isaiah, this was not the case; he was distinctly appealing to posterity, hence took good care that his message should be transmitted in its entirety.

Ordinarily, however, the appeal was made to the memory; the conditions of memory therefore determined in a large degree the characteristics of Hebrew didacticism. The literature of the Hebrews, except such of it as was primarily and immediately sacred, such as the Books of the Law and the chronicles of the people, was a literature with strong mnemonic qualities. These developed along unique lines. In common with the other Semitic peoples, they made great use of a rhythm of

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thought, which in the end came to have a charm and a compelling power so great as to amount to a universal appeal. Hence their masterpieces have over-reached the boundaries of the race and have become world literature. It is not simply the content of their Scriptures which has done this; but the form has had its victories as well. Even before the secret of its construction had been noted there was a general response to its power. One immensely helpful element in this influence was the fact that its beauty was not lost in translation. Wherever the felicity of expression depends upon phonetic elements, genius is dependent upon other genius for interpretation to alien peoples; these conditions are so seldom met that there are but few masters of literature adequately known to other peoples. Scholars and students of literature may have a familiarity with them, but to the mass of the people their influence is but a reputation. But with much of the Hebrew Scriptures it is quite otherwise. They are not only known to the world, but have had a tremendous influence upon the linguistic development of more than one race. In particular the Teutonic races can never repay their literary indebtedness. The very forms of Hebrew expression have been imitated by the great masters of English speech; shall one do more than to quote such contrary minds, as Bacon,

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Macaulay, and Lincoln? These each would have made confession to this power.

But if the question be pressed more particularly as to what portions of these writings have been most influential, the answer is readily forthcoming. The Psalms, the Prophets, the Proverbs, and the folk-story narratives have had incomparably the larger share of this potency, and this in the order named. Of the Prophets again it has been those who have most fully evidenced the particular lilt of thought-rhythm. Hence the literary characteristic which has most impressed the race has been this parallelism of thought as particularly manifested in the group of writings referred to. In other words the poetical element has been most effective.

If, then, this has influenced alien peoples, it can be readily understood that the succeeding generations among the Hebrews must have been especially impressed by it. So much so in fact that many masters would seek to use it for the transmission of their teaching. So it became a peculiar vehicle for the expression of wisdom literature, which is the form assumed by Hebrew philosophy.

It is important then to secure some adequate conception of these forms. For this purpose a few selections covering a range of centuries

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and illustrating differing types of expression and thought will be useful. Such are taken at random from the literature in question. Here is one from the Psalms:

Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place
In all generations;
Before the mountains were brought forth,
Or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the
world,
Even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God.

Thou turnest man to destruction,
And sayest, "Return, ye children of men."
For a thousand years in Thy sight
Are but as yesterday, when it is past,
And as a watch in the night.

Thou carriest them away as with a flood;
They are as asleep;
They are like grass which groweth up,
In the evening it is cut down and withereth;
In the morning it flourisheth and groweth up.

The general structure of such a passage is quite obvious. It depends for its beauty upon the matching of line with line; but scarcely less upon the balance of parts which make the completed stanza, in which the initial two lines are balanced against the final three.

From Isaiah we take this passage, which has the genuine lyrical lilt and beauty:

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In that day thou shalt say,
“I will give thanks unto Thee, O Jehovah;
For though Thou wast angry with me,
Thine anger is turned away
And Thou comfortest me.”

Behold, God is my salvation;
I will trust and not be afraid;
For Jehovah is my strength and song,
And He is become my salvation.”
Therefore with joy shall you draw water out of
the wells of salvation.

And in that day shall you say,
“Give thanks unto Jehovah,
Call upon His name;
Declare His doings among the people;
Make mention that His name is exalted.”

Sing unto Jehovah,
For He has done excellent things;
Let this be known in all the earth;
Cry aloud and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion,
For great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst
of thee.

Here again we find definite stanza structure which greatly enhances the effect of the passage. Even by the Revisers it has been presented as prose; but the poetic effect is so manifest that it deserves the widest recognition. Similarly with a passage at random from Jeremiah:

I have made thee a trier among My people;
And thou mayest know and try their ways.

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They are all grievous revolters,
Going about with slanders;
They are brass and iron,
They all of them deal corruptly.

The bellows blow fiercely;
The lead is consumed of the fire;
In vain do they go on refining,
For the wicked are not plucked away.
Refuse silver shall men call them;
Because Jehovah has rejected them.

The form in this is quite different, and yet the principle of its structure is sufficiently in evidence. The rhythmic element admits of wide range of application, and thus escapes the monotony which would be fatal to its influence. Even where the form is not wholly seen there is apparent an imitative effect; so that the literature ranges from the most lyrical of utterances to the sublimity of great prose, which may be styled the blank verse of this form of utterance.

But it had an adaptation even to commonplace themes, and this became apparent in the ethical philosophers whose chief concern was with the details of conduct. From Proverbs we may quote one or two passages:

There are four things which are little upon
the earth,
Yet they are exceeding wise.

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The ants are a people not strong,
Yet they provide their food in the summer;
The conies are but a feeble folk,
Yet they make their houses in the rocks;
The locusts have no king,
Yet go they forth all of them by bands;
The lizard thou canst seize with thy hands,
Yet is she in kings' palaces.

So in a different strain we read:

Be not thou envious against evil men,
Neither desire to be with them;
For their heart studieth oppression,
And their lips talk mischief.

It is apparent then that this quality of expression was widely used and eminently adapted to the conditions of the time; it attained great popularity and became the distinctive quality of men of letters. We trace its growing power down the centuries. The later literature as well as the canonical abounds in it. One example will suffice in this connection. It is a passage from Ecclesiasticus:

Weep for the dead, for light has failed him;
And weep for the fool, for understanding has failed him;
Weep more sweetly for the dead, for he has found rest;
But the life of the fool is worse than death.
Seven days are the days of mourning for the dead;
But for the fool and ungodly man, all the days of his life.

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Here again we have a variety of form and quite a difference in the content of the passage; but the adequacy of the form is singularly in evidence.

When we come to examine the technique of Hebrew poetry we find ourselves confronted by elements to which the Western mind is a stranger. Our entire poetry has been so much based upon the phonetic elements that it is entirely natural to regard with suspicion a prosody which relegates these to a minor place. The Hebrews doubtless laid some stress upon these vocal elements as well, but the exact value is scarcely discernible. This is true partly because the actual speech of the ancient Hebrews is not wholly restored by modern scholarship, so that the niceties of the language are still beyond the range of our perceptions. Various rhythmic schemes have been suggested, but as yet none commands the unqualified sanction of scholarship. Indeed, the whole subject of Hebrew poetry has been held in obscurity through long centuries. There was a recognition of the fact that much of these Scriptures was poetical; but wherein this consisted was unperceived. The authorized versions of the Scriptures made no attempt to distinguish poetry from prose. Nor, indeed, could this have been done. The common mind, however, made the distinction on the basis of a

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natural selection. The passages which lodged in people's minds were almost without exception of poetical origin. This is a remarkable testimony to their mnemonic quality. The conditions under which they originated thus justified the process after centuries and among a people of strange speech.

The real nature and the distinguishing characteristics of this prosody were first discriminated by Bishop Lowth in the latter half of the Seventeenth Century. He perceived that parallelism of thought was the uniform characteristic; following this clew he was able to show the various kinds of parallelism and the nature of the relations between the several lines and the upbuilding of a stanza. The matter is of such technical importance that we shall follow the exposition of the subject as given by one of the most eminent authorities, Dr. S. R. Driver, of Oxford University.

This authority first calls attention to the general nature of the subject matter. Of the four chief forms of poetry, the epic and the drama are almost wholly unknown among the Hebrews. There is indeed a vague approach to the drama in the Book of Job and in the Song of Songs. But the former is more nearly akin to the philosophical dialogue which came to prevail among the Greeks. The latter is lyrical rather than dramatic. The chief tendency

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of the Hebrew mind being introspective, it is natural that the lyric and the didactic should have come to prevail. The division is more or less arbitrary, for the two approach one another so that the line of division is sometimes difficult to establish.

Poetry is distinguished from prose by the recurrent check which divides the utterances into lines. Among the Western peoples these have been determined by the aggregate of phonetic elements; a certain number of syllables have constituted a line, whether or no the sense matched. These lines have sustained certain proportions to each other, and thus the ear has come to find a special satisfaction in the utterance of these measured units. Rhyme also has been appreciated as marking these units in a definite and pleasing manner. But among the Hebrews this was in no sense of importance. A certain lilt of utterance has been recognized; but anything approaching meter is questionable, while rhyme belongs to the realm of accident. “The poetical instinct among the Hebrews appears to have been satisfied by the adoption of lines of approximately the same length, which were combined as a rule into groups of two, three, or four lines, constituting verses—the verses marking usually more distinct pauses in the progress of the thought than the separate lines. The fundamental form of

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the Hebrew verse is the couplet of two lines, the second line either repeating or in some way reinforcing or completing the thought of the first. In the verse of two lines is exemplified the principle which most widely regulates the form of Hebrew poetry, the '*parallelismus membrorum*'—the parallelism of two clauses of approximately the same length, the second clause answering or in some way completing the thought of the first. The Hebrew verse does not, however, consist uniformly of two lines; the addition of a third line is apt especially to introduce an element of irregularity." At this point we must deviate from the analysis of Dr. Driver to suggest that this irregularity constitutes in reality a variety rather than an exception; it is by means of this variation that exquisite flexibility is attained which gives to the poetry an adaptation which effectually overcomes the natural tendency to monotony.

The lines of poetry are also varied; on an average they consist of seven or eight syllables; but this is an average and does not guarantee against wide variations. In some instances lines rendered into sixteen English syllables are matched by others of but four or five. This, however, is an extreme which is not common. The quieter strains of poetry are more likely to have evenly-balanced lines; this is a natural effect of the distribution of the emotion.

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While in the intensely lyrical Psalms there is sometimes a marked variation.

The parallelism of members follows several forms. Bishop Lowth distinguished three principal modes. These are:

1. Synonymous parallelism. In this kind the second line enforces the thought of the first by repeating, and, as it were, by echoing it in a varied form, producing an effect at once grateful to the ear and satisfying to the mind; or else the second line expresses a thought not indeed identical with the first, but parallel and similar to it. These forms, which are perhaps the most common, are illustrated in such passages as follows:

I will cry unto God with my voice,
Even unto God with my voice.—Psalm 77:1.

In Judah is God known,
His name is great in Israel.—Psalm 76:1.

Or the second form is shown in the following passages:

He will have pity on the poor and needy,
And the souls of the needy He will save.—Psalm 72:13.

The earth is Jehovah's, and the fullness thereof;
The world and they that dwell therein.—Psalm 24:1.

All my familiar friends abhor me,
And they whom I loved are turned against me.

—Job 19:19.

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2. Antithetic parallelism. In this form the first line is set in contrast with the second, which thus possesses a value of accentuating the first. It is of peculiar value where the subject admits of contrast, as is the case in sententious expressions of practical life.

Though he spare it and will not let it go,
But keep it still within his mouth.—Job 20: 13.

It is an honor for a man to keep aloof from strife,
But every fool will be quarreling.—Prov. 20: 3.

3. Synthetic parallelism. In this combination the second line carries forward the thought of the first in such a way that the two fuse in a larger picture. It is an exceedingly flexible relation and in the hands of an incompetent writer would bring the form to the level of prose. Yet it is so distinctively used that its place and function must be clearly recognized if one is to do justice to the poetic forms. Several examples are given:

Behold, bless ye, Jehovah, all ye servants of Jehovah,
That by night stand in the house of Jehovah.

—Psalm 134: 1.

Let the avenging of the blood of thy servants which
is shed,
Be known among the nations in our sight.

—Psalm 79: 10.

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Who is this that darkeneth counsel,
By words without knowledge?—Job 38: 2.

I will cause the enemy to make supplication unto thee
In the time of evil and in the time of affliction.
—Jer. 15: 11.

4. Causal parallelism. This form has not been noted in the ordinary analysis of poetic elements, yet it is one of the most frequent and distinctive, and as such is entitled to a separate consideration. In this form, one line matches the other by reason of giving the cause; it may be either the first or the second, but the relationship is definite and clear.

They say unto God, Depart from us!
For we desire not the knowledge of Thy ways.
—Job 21: 14.

The Lord will laugh at him,
For He sees that his day is coming.—Psalm 37: 13.

Save me, O, God!
For the waters are come into my soul.—Psalm 69: 1.

Because he has set his love upon me,
Therefore will I deliver him.—Psalm 91: 14.

Having such elements to deal with, the poet was able to contrive various combinations when he came to the larger forms. The first combination would be the tristich. Of this there were several forms; the three lines might be joined

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by a parallelism running through all. More commonly, however, one line would be balanced against a parallelism of two. In this form there was a great variety. Not only might the single line be either the first, second, or third, but it might be related in any one of the four forms of relation, and the two lines which were matched might likewise sustain to each other any one of the relations. So that there was the possibility of some fifty ways of developing the combination. Some of these can be set forth:

Be still and know that I am God;
I will be exalted among the nations,
I will be exalted in the earth.—Psalm 46: 10.

Here we have the last two lines related by the most direct parallelism, and this unity in turn to the first by synthetic parallelism; but the whole effect has a high degree of compactness:

O, love Jehovah, all ye His saints;
Jehovah preserveth the faithful,
And plentifully rewardeth him that dealeth proudly.
—Psalm 31: 23.

The relation between the last two lines is antithetic; between these and the first it is causal. These relationships are no less evident because the formal introductory word is absent.

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O, God, Thou art my God, earnestly will I seek Thee.
My soul thirsteth for Thee, my flesh longeth for Thee.
In a dry and weary land where no water is.

—Psalm 63: 1.

Here there is a simple parallelism between the first two lines, while the combination is related to the third in synthesis.

I was eyes to the blind,
And feet was I to the lame,
I was a father to the needy.—Job 29: 15, 16.

Here is shown a relation of parallelism affecting equally each number of the tristich. But where so many variations are possible these must suffice to show the effectiveness of the combinations.

Quite frequently there is presented the stanza relation of a tetrastich, in which there is simply a double parallelism, or else the first and third and second and fourth lines may be matched. Where there is the double parallelism the relation between the two parts may have the same variety as exist between the lines in forming a simple parallelism. Some of these results may be indicated as follows:

But where shall wisdom be found?
And where is the place of understanding?
Man knoweth not the price thereof,
Neither is it found in the land of the living.

—Job 28: 12.

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O, clap your hands, all ye peoples;
Shout unto God with the voice of triumph;
For Jehovah Most High is terrible,
He is a great King over all the earth.—Psalm 47: 1, 2.

Be merciful unto me, O, God, be merciful unto me;
For my soul taketh refuge in Thee,
Yea, in the shadow of Thy wings will I take refuge,
Until these calamities be overpast.—Psalm 57: 1.

They shall build the old wastes,
They shall raise up the former desolations,
And they shall repair the waste cities,
The desolations of many generations.—Isaiah 61: 4.

But just as combinations can be made of the distichs, so they can be effected very happily as between a distich and tristich; and this gives the added variation that the two lines may come first or may close the stanza. Some very beautiful results are thus attained. Certainly there is a flexibility to the verse which adds to the charm and enables the poet to touch his theme with lightness or with power, as the mood may dispose him. Such an example is afforded us in the following passage:

The Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon Me,
Because Jehovah has anointed Me to preach the good
tidings unto the meek;
He has sent Me to bind up the broken-hearted,
To proclaim liberty to the captives,
And the opening of the prison to them that are
bound.

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With this stanza before us we may well pause for its analysis. The first two lines are related causally. In the tristich there is the synthetic relation between the first line and the two succeeding ones, while these in turn are placed in simple parallelism. The whole stanza is bound into unity by a synthetic parallelism between the two strophes. Another variety of this form is shown in the One Hundredth Psalm:

Enter into His gates with thanksgiving,
And into His courts with praise,
Give thanks unto Him and bless His name;
For Jehovah is good; His loving kindness endureth forever,
And His faithfulness unto all generations.

We must note also that at times the stanza was combined from two tristichs, giving a six-line result. This of course did not lend itself to variety as easily as the form which has been discussed, and was more ponderous than the simple tetraстиch; none the less, like the hexameter, it had its proper place and might be used to good advantage where thought required a more measured and stately expression. The power of this form is well exemplified in the accompanying passage:

O, sing unto Jehovah a new song,
Sing unto Jehovah, all the earth,
Sing unto Jehovah, bless His name;

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Show forth His salvation from day to day,
Declare His glory among the nations,
His marvelous works among all peoples.

—Psalm 96: 1-3.

These perhaps suffice to show the possibilities of these variations in the hands of a master; but they show also that the effects are not to be wrought by chance. No man could hope to know "letters" without at least giving his attention to the art. David might sing in his fields, as Robert Burns behind the plow; but in either case there must have been an instinctive appreciation of poetic values and long practice to develop the requisite skill. There is occasion for art in these structures as well as in those which depend for their effect upon a vocal melody. A novice could produce doggerel here as well as under other conditions.

These, then, are the elements of Hebrew prosody; they explain in a large degree the composition of the wonderful songs and inspired oracles; they reveal processes at once simple but capable of a high degree of technique. It is at once apparent that noble effects were not to be secured by accident. For these men might well toil, and hold it as a high achievement so to sing that the popular mind caught up the refrain and gave to the melody a more than transient existence. It is notable also that these forms tended, in a rare degree,

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to clarify an expression, for one line would amplify or contrast with another in such a way as to fix the thought. Thus they came to possess a rare power for didactic purposes. It is easily to be understood then that many a teacher made use of them to present his best ideas to the world. It is no mere accident that the didactic poetry of the Hebrews bulks very large in the survivals of their literature. We may notice also that where such forms are found we can be well content that we are dealing with the original and not an abbreviated or reminiscent account of some deliverance. This is too patent to require emphasis. But one can no more give the substance merely, without ruining the form, than he could hope to give the sense of one of Tennyson's lyrics and still retain the poetry.

Across the stage of Hebrew history these bards and poets march in long procession. Even in the days of the Patriarchs the spirit of song was upon the people. It is no fiction of a later time that Israel is made to chant his final benediction as he lies upon his deathbed:

Assemble yourselves and hear, ye sons of Jacob,
And hearken unto Israel, your father.

And quite in the spirit of this great impulse after the salvation from Egypt we catch the triumphant strains of the Song of Miriam:

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I will sing unto Jehovah, for He has triumphed
gloriously;
The horse and the rider has He thrown into the sea.
Jehovah is my strength and song,
And He is become my salvation;
This is my God and I will praise Him,
My father's God, and I will exalt Him.

This age of wandering comes to its close with
the glorious periods of the song of Moses and
of his blessing:

Happy art thou, O Israel,
Who is like unto thee, a people saved by Jehovah?
The shield of thy help,
And the sword of thy excellency!
And thy enemies shall submit themselves to thee,
And thou shalt tread upon their high places.

Through the period of the dawning national
life we find that in every great crisis men rose
up to fight the battles of the land and others
arose to sing in heroic strains. Thus we have
the song of Deborah:

Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes;
I, even I, will sing unto Jehovah;
I will sing praises to Jehovah, the God of Isreal.

and moving on to the splendid close:

So let Thine enemies perish, O Jehovah;
But let them that love Him be as the sun,
When he goeth forth in his might.

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So also we find Samson singing his riddle, and thus evincing another function of poetry:

Out of the eater came forth food,
And out of the strong came forth sweetness.

This type of the “dark saying” came in the end to have a prodigious vogue, and to be a recognized form of poetry.

A little later in this period we have the song of Hannah, written in a highly-developed poetic form. The concluding stanza will suffice:

They that strive with Jehovah shall be broken to pieces;
Against them will He thunder in heaven;
Jehovah will judge the ends of the earth,
And He will give strength to His King,
And exalt the horn of His anointed.

The relation of this song to one of a later age sung on the dedication of a child to divine service is so readily apparent that it may be said to be its prototype. From this time on history abounds in recognition of the place of poetry in national life. The significant thing is this: Among the Hebrews poetry is not a thing apart from the national activity, but as among no other people, it is at once the inspiration and expression of the great movements in their history. It has a public function akin to that of journalism and oratory. It is eminently the thing for a man with a message to

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accustom himself to these forms and thus to make his appeal to the popular mind. Kings and prophets alike found it an important element in their influence. It is this, perhaps, which saves it from mere art and prettiness—it is ever charged with deep purpose. Unless this distinction is clearly apprehended, we shall fail to do justice to the poetic element in history or to understand how naturally men with a message made use of its value. They had in effect a monopoly of poetic forms; the very title of “poet” was a tribute to intellectual greatness and moral purpose.

The illustrative material by which the variety of form has been presented is perhaps a sufficient proof of the wide scope of poetic activity during the prophetic period; while the later Psalms and the later Isaiah are illustrations of this influence in the Post-Exilic period. So also the selections from the non-canonical literature suffice to establish the same conclusions. These bring us very close to the New Testament age; the tide is flowing full and strong, and it does not seem reasonable that it should suddenly subside.

Nor indeed is such the case. For upon the first page of the Gospel of Luke we find a burst of song which in sweetness of expression, in beauty of content, has a quality which places it among the great utterances of the Hebrew

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race. It is significant that this song is placed upon the lips of the mother of Jesus; whatever there is in heredity under such circumstances raises a question full of interest. Nor is this suggestion affected by the fact that the words may have had a later origin; for among contemporaries there must have been some reason warranting the imputing of noble melody to this woman. The song itself deserves full presentation:

My soul does magnify the Lord,
And my spirit has rejoiced in God my Savior;
For He hath looked upon the low estate of His
handmaid;
For behold, from henceforth all generations shall
call me blessed;
For He that is mighty has done me great things,
And holy is His name.

And His mercy is unto generations
Of them that fear Him;
He hath showed strength with His arm,
He hath scattered the proud in the imagination
of their heart;
He hath put down princes from their thrones,
And hath exalted them of low degree.

The hungry He hath filled with good things,
And the rich He hath sent empty away;
He hath given help to Israel His servant,
That He might remember mercy,
As He spake unto our fathers,
Toward Abraham and his seed forever.

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The whole situation with which Luke begins is intensely lyrical; song wells up to the lips of all. Certainly there was a sufficiency of inspiration; but the undoubted fact is that here we have a renaissance of poetry along with the new spiritual vision. It may be well allowed that these precious melodies are an after-effect; but this only postpones the outburst of song by a few years. Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, is made to speak in numbers. The words which came from his lips deserve also to be noted:

Blessed the Lord, the God of Israel,
For He hath visited and wrought redemption for
His people,
And hath raised up a horn of salvation for us,
In the house of His servant David.

Because of the tender mercy of our God,
Whereby the dayspring from on high shall visit us,
To shine upon them that sit in darkness and the
shadow of death,
To guide our feet into the way of peace.

So also we may quote the utterance of the aged Simeon on the presentation of the child Jesus in the Temple:

Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart, Lord,
According to Thy Word, in peace;
For mine eyes have seen Thy salvation,

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Which Thou hast prepared before the face of
all peoples;
A light for revelation to the Gentiles,
And the glory of Thy people Israel.

After such lyrical expressions from the older generation, showing the possession of the talent of song, we are not surprised to find among the sayings attributed to John the Baptist such a one as this:

I indeed baptize you in water unto repentance,
But He that cometh after me is mightier than I,
Whose shoes I am not worthy to bear;
He shall baptize you in the Holy Spirit and fire.

Whose fan is in His hand,
And He will thoroughly cleanse His threshing floor,
And He will gather the wheat into the garner,
But the chaff He will burn up with unquenchable fire.

And once again, from the few expressions of the Baptist's teaching which have survived, we gather this poetic form:

He that hath the bride is the bridegroom;
But the friend of the bridegroom that standeth and heareth him,
Rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice;
This my joy therefore is made full;
He must increase, but I must decrease.

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This is sufficient proof that the instinct of song had leaped from the prophets to the evangelists of the new era. The matter, however, has such an interest that we may well follow it to a farther observation, and note the degree in which such forms were made available for the transmission of ethical instruction.

Scattered through the Pauline epistles there are fragments which chant themselves after the fashion of Hebrew verse; some of these have fastened themselves upon the memory and imagination of the ages. It is almost axiomatic that whatever passage has had wide quotation will be found to be influenced in some degree at least by the rhythm of thought. The field is an inviting one, and some day will have full justice done to it; but for the present we pass on, content only to quote the exhortation, which shows the currency of Christian song more fully than could any specific illustration, "Be filled with the Spirit, speaking one to another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody with your heart to the Lord." It is quite obvious that this would have been a vain counsel except there were at hand the material with which to fulfill the mandate. Hence we may surmise a certain frequency of poetic utterance among these first Christians.

In this matter one of the minor epistles is

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entitled to a certain pre-eminence; indeed, it does not appear to be an epistle at all save in the matter of its dedication. This, however, was quite consonant with the custom of the time, as has already been stated. Under this guise, then, we find in the Epistle of James certain brief passages which have a peculiar felicity of expression. When these are examined in detail, this felicity is found to have an abundant rhetorical reason; the nature of this is best made apparent by exhibition. The book opens with the following passage:

Count it all joy, my brethren,
When ye fall into manifold temptations.

Knowing that the proving of your faith worketh patience,
Let patience have its perfect work,
That you may be perfect and entire, lacking nothing.

But if any of you lacketh wisdom, let him ask of God,
Who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not,
And it shall be given him.

But let him ask in faith, nothing doubting;
For he that doubteth is like the surge of the sea,
Driven by the wind and tossed.

Let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord;
A double minded man, unstable in all his ways.

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Immediately following this Logion we have another more rich in poetic beauty, though not more regular in its forms:

Let the brother of low degree glory in his high estate;
And the rich, in that he is made low;
Because as the flower of the grass he shall pass
away,
For the sun ariseth with the scorching wind and
withereth the grass,
And the flower thereof falleth,
And the grace of the fashion of it perisheth;
So also shall the rich man fade away in his goings.

The general tenor of the collection does not maintain this level, but none the less it has a good average for didactic verse, and at times breaks forth in lyrical beauty. The passages require careful editing to reveal their full characteristics, and this lies beyond the scope of the present investigation. It will suffice for the purpose in hand to quote two or three more examples:

Beloved, I beseech you as sojourners and pilgrims,
To abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the
soul,
Having your behavior seemly among the Gentiles;
That wherein they speak against you as evil doers,
They may, by your good works which they behold,
Glorify God in the day of visitation.

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Or again:

Who is wise and understanding among you,
Let him show by his good life his works in meekness
of wisdom;
But if you have bitter jealousy and faction in your
heart,
Glory not and lie not against the truth.

This wisdom is not that which cometh down from
above,
But is earthly, sensual, devilish;
For where jealousy and faction are,
There is confusion and every vile deed.

But the wisdom that is from above is first pure,
Then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated,
Full of mercy and good fruits,
Without variance, without hypocrisy.

And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace,
For them that make peace.

Once more we quote a passage in which the
poetic form embodies a glow of imagery:

Be patient unto the coming of the Lord;
The husbandman waits for the precious fruits of the
earth,
Being patient over it until it receives the early and
the latter rain.
Be ye also patient; establish your hearts,
For the coming of the Lord is at hand.

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It is to be observed that these passages were originally in the native tongue of the writer, and have been rendered into Greek and thence into English. Thence it is that at times the movement seems to halt until it seems questionable whether ever the melody were there. Again there is in certain instances a mingling of comment and Old Testament exegesis which complicates the restoration of the harmony. But when due allowance has been made for these alien elements it is seen that we have a survival of Hebrew didactic poetry, and in some cases of a very high type.

It would be quite possible to present other evidence from other books of the New Testament. The Epistle of John has strains of melody which have given it an imperishable place in the mind of the Church. But it is well to pause with the present illustrations before us. And this for the significant reason that, except for the mere fragment from old Simeon, every one of these passages is from a relative, after the flesh, of the great Master. We have then a tribute to the poetic strain which touched the whole family line of His immediate generation. And this is true whether the passages be held to be from these persons or not. For there could be no general attributing of this power to so many people, known to the generation which so attributed them, unless there was

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some basis in tradition at least which would seem to justify the allusion. We may conclude, then, not only that the poetic strain revived in New Testament times, but also that the family of Jesus was a factor in this revival. This becomes a starting point for a suggestion that has in it a vast possibility from every point of view.

To present Jesus of Nazareth as a Man of Letters, carefully brooding over His thought until He had wrought it into the exact expression, and thus giving the world those marvelous oracles which have held the thought of ages in charmed interest and amazed appreciation, this indeed is to reverse all tradition; to introduce Him as a Poet who is the crowning glory of a great literature and who was Master of form as well as of lofty sentiment, this is to challenge the attention of the time and to call the critics into action. To hold that we are in no sense dependent upon reminiscences, idealized after the lapse of time, but that we have the carefully composed oracles fresh from His hand and lips—this is to find a new authority and to secure a new basis for interpretation. Such, then, is the thesis whose enunciation seems compelled by the actual facts in the case.

But however contrary to accustomed thought the thesis may seem to be, there is this one thing to be observed, that once having been

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laid down, it does not admit of a defense by hazy generalizations; in its very nature it requires to be put to the proof, and that by tests so keen that any mere pretensions will be riddled at the first effort to establish them—the matter admits of full and fair demonstration that must silence all cavil and be the satisfactory evidence to all candid minds. This being so, there is no reason why the evidence should not be at once submitted so that its nature and value can be appreciated. To enable such appreciation has been the primary object of this digressive discussion of the forms of Hebrew verse; that the mind be freshly familiarized with the excellencies of such poetic forms, and thus the better test the proposition these have been presented with an unusual fullness. From such consideration, then, we can pass to the examination of the thesis. Stated broadly this is none other than the claim, that the Logia attributed to Jesus are commonly in the exact forms of Hebrew verse.

The argument in behalf of this proposition divides into three parts. First, the proof of the fact that Jesus was Master of the Hebrew verse forms. This it is proposed to establish, by quoting passages from His oracles which match practically every variety of poetic form as already presented from the best authorities of the Old Testament. Having the fact thus

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established, we shall next proceed to consider the scope of these poetic elements, and this by an exhibition of a great portion of the oracles attributed to Jesus. The argument from exhibition is conclusive, for if the matter admits of poetic presentation with any considerable ease, and without forcing or affectation, the conclusion will be quite obvious. In the third place, when these two points have been established, we shall find ourselves possessed of an instrument of criticism by which to solve many of the hitherto insoluble problems of the Gospel literature, and this interpretative value will be not the least of the affirmative arguments. It will be observed, however, that the method is in reality a strict adherence to the hypothetical form, and hence a truly scientific process. If the poetic forms are found, then the hypothesis is true.

We can scarcely do better in this analysis than to follow the description of Hebrew poetry as already presented and supply the illustrative material from the various oracles of Jesus.

1. *Synonymous parallelism*, in which the second line echoes the thought of the first, though in a varied form:

A disciple is not above his master,
Nor a servant above his lord.

There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed,
And nothing hid that shall not be made known.

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Every kingdom divided against itself is brought
to desolation,
And every city or house divided against itself
shall not stand.

The second phase of this form of parallelism is illustrated in such passages as these:

Give not that which is holy unto the dogs,
Neither cast your pearls before swine;

He that is not with Me is against Me,
And he that gathers not with Me, scatters.

2. Antithetic parallelism, which contrasts the two lines as in the following examples:

And why do you behold the mote that is in your brother's eye,

But do not consider the beam that is in your own eye?

If the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it;
But if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you.

You shall be hated of all men,

But he that endures to the end shall be saved.

3. Synthetic parallelism, which carries forward the thought of the first line and enlarges or vivifies the picture in the second:

Not every one who says to Me, "Lord! Lord!"
Shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

If any man would come after Me, let him deny himself,

And take up his cross and follow Me.

Into whatsoever city you shall enter,
Search out who in it is worthy.

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4. Causal parallelism, which sets the two lines in the relation of statement and reason:

When you pray use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do,

For they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking.

Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me,
For I am meek and lowly in heart.

How can you, being evil, speak good things,
For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.

We come then to the larger combinations and have first to consider the tristich. The examples given show the several arrangements as before illustrated:

Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth,
Where moth and rust consume,
And where thieves break through and steal.

Judge not, that you be not judged;
For with what judgment you judge you shall be judged,
And with what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again.

We have also the reverse form, in which the single line appears last:

For straight is the gate and narrow the way
Which leads to life,
And few there be that find it.

Whatsoever you would that men should do to you,
Do you even so unto them;
For this is the Law and the Prophets.

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So also the form of equal emphasis on all three lines is in evidence:

Ask and it shall be given unto you;
Seek and you shall find;
Knock and it shall be opened unto you.

From this form we pass to the tetrastich, only to find an equal abundance of illustrative material:

Every idle word that men shall speak,
They shall give an account thereof in the judgment;
For by your words you shall be justified,
And by your words you shall be condemned.

Whosoever will confess me before men,
Him will I confess before My Father in Heaven;
But whosoever will deny Me before men,
Him will I also deny before My Father in Heaven.

I thank Thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,
That Thou didst hide these things from the wise
and prudent,
And didst reveal them unto babes;
Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight.

The same skill as is requisite for the effective quatrain, finds an exemplification in the fuller and more attractive combination of distich and tristich:

Whereunto shall I liken this generation?
It is like children sitting in the market place;
They call to their fellows and say,
“We piped to you, and you did not dance;
We wailed and you did not mourn.”

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This selection is perhaps as exquisite a touch as anything in the whole range of literature—it evokes the picture in its completeness and makes the moral application so deftly that the artistic sense is as well satisfied as the spirit is inspired.

We have then traced the Master in His use of every substantial form of Hebrew poetry; nor can it be said that these passages fall in any wise below the standard of such selections as are commonly presented to make clear the forms of prosody. Having then such a demonstration of poetic mastery, we may well inquire with the wondering throng at Jerusalem, when they heard the gracious words which proceeded out of His mouth. "How," said they, "does this Man know letters, having never learned?" It is the perennial wonder of mediocrity in the presence of genius. Let us then not deny Him this meed of praise which even His enemies were forced to concede. We may hail Jesus as the Man of Letters.

In presenting the poems of Jesus, we may well begin with Matthew, for this Gospel professedly contains His Logia, set forth at length, and hence we may expect that here, if anywhere, the form will have been preserved. It scarcely seems necessary to allude to the effect of a translation from the Aramaean into the Greek. The highly inflected language

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could not but affect the clausal relations; a participle might sum up in itself the well-balanced clause of the original. Under these circumstances it would be unreasonable to look for the exactness which an original might possess. As a matter of fact the recovery would be quite impossible were it not that we are dealing with thought-elements rather than phonetic. A certain sympathy also between the English and the more primitive language has tended to recover the balance of expression. This is in part due to the tremendous influence of the Scriptures in the development of English speech; partly also from the fact that the first rude essays at rendition of the Scriptures into the common speech of the Anglo-Saxons was by certain wandering bards who chanted the story of the Christ, and thus associated the gospel with a native melody which has tinged all subsequent renditions. Because of these things the presentation follows the regular versions, and these seem to be adequate in nearly every instance. Nor must these explanations be deemed an apology for the shortcomings of this presentation; no more is asked in the way of lenient judgment than the simple facts warrant. It is in reality to preserve the judicial mind in the presence of novelty.

PART TWO
THE POEMS OF JESUS

- I. THE MATTHÆAN LOGIA.
- II. THE BOOK OF PARABLES.
- III. THE ORACLES FROM THE FOURTH GOSPEL.
- IV. POETIC FRAGMENTS.

PROLOGUE

(Matt. 7: 24-27. Luke 6: 47-49.)

Whosoever hears My words,
And does these sayings of Mine,
I will liken him to a wise man,
Who built his house on a rock.

The rains descended and the floods came,
The winds blew and beat against that house;
But it did not fall,
For it was builded upon a rock.

Whosoever hears My words,
But does not do these sayings of Mine,
I will liken him to a foolish man,
Who built his house on the sand.

The rains descended and the floods came,
The winds blew and beat against that house;
And lo! it fell,
And great was the fall thereof.

I

THE MATTHÆAN LOGIA*

I

(Matt. 5:3-10. Luke 6:20-22.)

Blessed are the poor in spirit,
For theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Blessed are they that mourn,
For they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meek,
For they shall inherit the earth;

Blessed are they that hunger,
For they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful,
For they shall obtain mercy;

Blessed are the peace makers,
For they are the children of God.

Blessed are the pure in heart,
For they shall see God;

Blessed are the persecuted,
For theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

* Note 11.

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II

(Matt. 5: 11, 12; 44, 45. Luke 6: 23, etc.)

Blessed are you, when men shall reproach you,
And shall say all manner of evil against you;
Rejoice, and be exceeding glad;

For great is your reward in heaven;
For so persecuted they the prophets,
Who were before you.

Bless them that curse you;
Pray for them that despitefully use you;
That you may be the sons of your Father in
heaven;
He makes His sun to shine on the evil and the
good,
And sends rain on the just and unjust.
Be you perfect as your Heavenly Father is
perfect.

All things that you would have men do to you,
Do you also unto them;
For this is the Law and the Prophets.

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III *

(Matt. 5: 13-15. Luke 14: 34, 35.)

You are the salt of the earth—
But if the salt has lost its savor,
It is cast out as good for nothing,
And trodden under foot of man.

You are the light of the world—
Then let your light shine before men,
So that they may see your good works,
And glorify your Father in Heaven.

Neither do men light a candle,
And set it under a bushel;
But they set it on a candle stick,
And it lights the whole house.

* Note 12.

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IV

(Matt. 5: 21-47. Luke 6: 23-38.)

You have heard that the Ancients said,
“Thou shalt not kill;
Whosoever shall kill
Shall be in danger of the judgment.”

But I say unto you,
Whosoever is angry with his brother,
Shall be in danger of the judgment;
Whosoever shall say to his brother, “Raca!”
Shall be in danger of the council;
Whosoever shall say “Thou fool!”
Shall be in danger of the hell of fire.

You have heard that the Ancients said,
“Thou shalt not commit adultery;
Whosoever shall put away his wife,
Let him give her a writing of divorcement.”

But I say unto you,
Whoever looks upon a woman to lust after her,
Has committed adultery with her in his heart;
Whosoever shall put away his wife,
Causes her to commit adultery;
Whosoever shall marry a divorcee,
Himself commits adultery.

You have heard that the Ancients said,
“Thou shalt not forswear thyself,
But shalt perform unto the Lord thy oaths,
Which thou hast promised with thy mouth.”

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But I say unto you,
Swear not by heaven, for it is God's throne;
Nor by the earth, for it is His footstool;
Neither shall you swear by your head,
For you can not make one hair black or white.
But let your communication be yea and nay;
For more than these, comes of evil.

You have heard that the Ancients said,
“An eye for an eye,
A tooth for a tooth,
A life for a life.”

But I say unto you,
Whosoever shall smite your right cheek,
Turn to him the other also;
If any man would take away your coat,
Let him have your cloak also;
Whosoever shall compel you to go a mile,
Go with him twain.

You have heard that the Ancients said,
“Thou shalt love thy neighbor,
But hate thine enemy.”

But I say unto you,
What reward have you if you love them that
love you?
Do not even the Publicans the same?
What reward have you if you salute your brethren
only?
Do not even the Gentiles the same?
You therefore shall love your enemies,
And do good to them that hate you.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

V

(Matt. 6: 1-18.)

Take heed of your righteousness,
That you do not do it before men to be seen of them,
Else you have no reward of your Father in heaven.

When you do your alms,
Do not sound a trumpet before you
In the synagogue and the street,
As the hypocrites do,
That they may have glory of men;
Verily, they have their reward.

But you, when you do your alms,
Let not your right hand know,
What your left hand does;
And your alms being in secret,
Your Father who sees in secret,
Shall reward you openly.

And you, when you pray,
Do not stand in the synagogue,
And in the corners of the street,
As the hypocrites love to do,
That they may be seen of men;
Verily, they have their reward.

But you, when you pray,
Enter your closet,
And shut to the door;
Pray to your Father in secret,
And your Father, who sees in secret,
Himself shall recompense you.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

And when you fast,
Be not as the hypocrites,
Of a sad countenance;
For they disfigure their faces,
That they may appear to men to fast;
Verily, they have their reward.

But you, when you fast,
Anoint your head,
That you be not seen of men;
But you fast to your Father in secret,
And your Father, who sees in secret,
Himself shall recompense you.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

VI

(Matt. 6: 7-13. Luke 11: 2-4.)

And you, when you pray,
Use not vain repetitions,
As the heathen do.

They think they shall be heard
For their much speaking;
Be you not like them.

For your Father knows
The things you have need of,
Before you ask Him.

But when you pray, say,
Our Father, who art in heaven,
Hallowed be thy name.

Thy Kingdom come on earth,
Thy will be done
As it is in heaven.

Give us to-day our daily bread,
And forgive us our debts,
As we forgive our debtors.

Lead us not into temptation,
But deliver us from evil,
For Thine is the Kingdom, forever.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

VII

(Matt. 6: 25-34. Luke 12: 22-31.)

Be not anxious for your life,
What you shall eat and drink,
Or wherewithal you shall be clothed;
Is not the life more than the meat,
And the body more than the raiment?

Behold the birds of the heaven;
They neither sow nor reap,
Nor gather into barns;
Yet your Heavenly Father feeds them.
Are you not much better than they?

Consider the lilies of the field,
How they grow; they toil not,
Neither do they spin;
Yet even Solomon in all his glory
Was not arrayed like one of these.

And why are you anxious concerning raiment?
If God so clothe the grass of the field,
Which to-day is, and to-morrow is burned,
Shall He not much more clothe you,
O, you of little faith?

Be not therefore anxious, saying,
What shall we eat or drink,
Or wherewithal shall we be clothed?
For your Heavenly Father knows
That you have need of all these things.

After all these things do the Gentiles seek;
But seek you the Kingdom and its righteousness,
And all these things shall be added unto you.
Be therefore not anxious for the morrow,
For the morrow will be anxious for itself.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

VIII

(Matt. 7: 1-5. Luke 6: 41, 42.)

Judge not that you be not judged.

With what judgment you judge,
 You shall be judged;
And with what measure you mete,
 It shall be measured to you again.

And why do you behold the mote
 That is in your brother's eye,
But do not consider the beam
 That is in your own eye?

Or how can you say to your brother,
 "Let me pull the mote out of your eye,"
And behold—
 The beam is in your own eye.

O hypocrite! Cast out first
 The beam that is in your own eye,
Then shall you see clearly
 To cast the mote out of your brother's eye.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

IX

(Matt. 7: 21-23. Luke 6: 46.)

Not every one that says to me, "Lord! Lord!
Shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven;
But he that does the will
Of My Father who is in heaven.

Many will say to Me in the Day, "Lord! Lord!
Have we not prophesied in Thy name?
And in Thy name have cast out devils,
And in Thy name done many wonderful works?"

Then will I profess to them, "I never knew you;
Depart from Me, you that work iniquity!"

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

X

(Matt. 10: 5-7, 9-14. Luke 9: 1-5.)

Go not into the way of the Gentiles,
And enter not into any city of the Samaritans;
But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,
And as you go, preach that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass, in your purses,
Provide no wallet for your journey;
Neither two coats, nor shoes, nor staff;
For the laborer is worthy of his hire.

Into whatsoever city you shall enter,
Search out who in it is worthy,
And there abide until you go forth;
Go not from house to house

If the house be worthy,
Let your peace come upon it;
But if it be not worthy,
Let your peace return to you.

Whosoever will not receive you,
Nor hear your words,
As you go forth from that place,
Shake off the dust from your feet.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XI

(Matt. 10: 17-31.)

Beware, for men shall deliver you to councils,
And in their synagogues shall they scourge you,
 And before governors and kings shall you be
 brought,
For a testimony to them and the Gentiles.

When they shall deliver you up,
Be not anxious what you shall speak;
 For it shall be given you what to say;
 For the Spirit of my Father will speak in you.

Brother shall deliver up brother to death,
And children shall rise up against parents;
 You shall be hated of all men,
 But he that endures to the end shall be saved.

Be not afraid of them that kill the body,
But after that have no more that they can do;
 Fear Him rather who is able
 To destroy both soul and body in hell.

Are not two sparrows sold for a penny?
And not one of them falls to the ground without
 your Father;
 You are of more value than many sparrows;
 The very hairs of your head are all numbered.

Every one who shall confess Me before men,
Him will I also confess before My Father;
 Whosoever shall deny Me before men,
 Him will I also deny before My Father.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XII

(Matt. 10: 24, 25, 34-36. Luke 6: 40.)

A disciple is not above his master,
Nor a servant above his lord;
It is enough for a disciple
That he be as his master,
And the servant as his lord.

If they have called the Master "Beelzebub!"
How much more them of his household?
Think not that I am come
To send peace on the world;
I am not come to send peace, but a sword.

I have come to set a man
At variance with his father;
A daughter against her mother,
The daughter-in-law against her mother-in-
law;
A man's foes shall be they of his own house-
hold.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XIII

(Matt. 11: 7-19. Luke 7: 24-28, 31-34.)

What went you to the wilderness to see?
A reed shaken by the wind?
But what went you out to see?
A man clothed in soft raiment?
They that wear soft raiment are in palaces.

But what went you out to see? A prophet?
Yes, and much more than a prophet.
Among those born of woman
There has not arisen a greater than John;
Yet the least in the Kingdom is greater than he.

Before the days of John the Kingdom suffered
violence,
And the violence sought to take it by force;
All the prophets but prophesied till John;
But if you are willing to receive it,
This is Elias, who was to come.

Whereunto shall I liken this generation?
It is like children sitting in the market places;
They call to their fellows and say,
“We piped to you and you did not dance;
We wailed and you did not mourn.”

John came neither eating and drinking,
And they say he has a devil;
The Son of man came eating and drinking,
They say, “Behold a glutton and wine bibber,
A friend of publicans and sinners.”

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XIV

(Matt. 11: 21-25. Luke 10: 12-15.)

Woe unto thee, Chorazin!
Woe unto thee, Bethsaida!
For if the mighty works done in you
Had been done in Tyre and Sidon,
They would have repented long ago,
In sackcloth and ashes.

Woe unto thee, Capernaum!
Art thou exalted to heaven?
Thou shalt go down to hell.
For if the mighty works done in you,
Had been done in Sodom and Gomorrah,
They would have remained until this day.
But in the Day of Judgment
It shall be more tolerable for these
Than it shall be for you.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XV

(Matt. 11: 25-27. Luke 11: 21, 22.)

thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,
That Thou didst hide these things from the wise
and prudent,
And didst reveal them unto babes;
For so it seemed good in Thy sight.

All things have been delivered to Me of My Father;
No one knows the Son save the Father,
And no one knows the Father save the Son,
And he to whom the Son wills to reveal Him.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XVI

(Matt. 12: 24-29. Luke 11: 17-22.)

A kingdom divided against itself is brought to
desolation;
No city divided against itself is able to stand;
If Satan casts out Satan, he is divided against
himself;
How then shall his kingdom stand?

If I, by Beelzebub, cast out devils,
By whom do your sons cast them out?
But if I, by the Spirit of God, cast them out,
Then is the Kingdom of God come upon you.

How can one enter the house
And spoil the goods of the strong man,
Except he shall first bind the strong man?
Then shall he spoil his goods.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XVII

(Matt. 12: 43-45. Luke 11: 24-26.)

When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man,
He passes through waterless places,
Seeking rest and finding it not.

Then says he, “I will return
To the house whence I came out;”
And when he is come, he finds it empty.

Then goes he and takes with him
Seven spirits worse than himself,
And they enter in and dwell there.

And the last state of that man
Is worse than the first.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XVIII

(Matt. 18: 3-10. Mark 10: 15; 9: 42. Luke 18: 17.)

Except you become as little children,
You shall in no wise enter the Kindgom of
Heaven;

Whosoever shall humble himself as a little child,
He is the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven;
Whoso receives one such little child, receives Me.

Whosoever shall cause to stumble
One of these little ones who believe in Me,
It were profitable for him
That a millstone were hanged about his neck
And he were cast into the depths of the sea.

See that you despise not one of the little ones;
For I say unto you that their angels
Do always behold the face of My Father;
Even so it is not the will of your Father
That one of these little ones should perish.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XIX

(Matt. 18: 7-9.)

Woe unto the world,
Because of the occasions of stumbling;
It must needs be that occasions come,
But woe unto that man
Through whom the occasions come.

If your right hand cause you to stumble,
Cut it off and cast it from you;
For it is profitable for you
That one of your members should perish
And not your whole body be cast into hell.

And if your right eye cause you to stumble,
Pluck it out and cast it from you;
For it is profitable for you
That one of your members should perish
And not your whole body be cast into hell.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XX

(Matt. 18: 15-17.)

If your brother sin against you,
Show him his fault between himself and you
alone;
If he shall hear you,
You have gained your brother.

But if he does not hear you,
Take with you one or two more,
That at the mouth of two witnesses or three,
Every word may be established.

If he shall refuse to hear them,
Tell it to the elders of the synagogue;
If he refuse to hear them as well,
Let him be to you as the Gentile and
publican.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XXI

(Matt. 23: 2-8. Luke 11: 46.)

The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat;
All things therefore that they bid you,
These do and observe;
But do not after their works;
For they say but do not.

Yea, they bind heavy burdens,
And grievous to be borne,
And lay them on men's shoulders;
But they themselves will not lift them
With their little finger.

All their works they do to be seen of men;
They broaden their phylacteries,
And enlarge their borders;
They love the chief places at the feasts,
And the chief seats in the synagogues.

They delight in public salutations,
And to be called Rabbi! of men;
But be not you called Rabbi!
For one is your Master,
And you are all brethren.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XXII

(Matt. 23: 13-28. Luke 11: 42-52.)

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!

For you shut the Kingdom of Heaven against men;
For you neither enter in yourselves,

Nor suffer those who are entering to enter.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!

For you devour widows' houses,
Even while for a pretense you make long prayers;
But you shall receive the greater condemnation.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!

For you compass sea and land to make one proselyte;
And when he is become so, you make him
Twofold more a son of hell than yourselves.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!*

For you tithe mint and anise and cumin,
And have left undone the weightier matters of the law,
Justice and mercy and faith;
But these you ought to have done,
And not have left the other undone.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!

For you cleanse the outside of the cup and platter,
But within they are full of extortion and excess,
And all manner of uncleanness.
O, blind Pharisees, cleanse first the inside,
And the outside will be clean also.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites.

For you are like whitened sepulchers,
Which outwardly appear beautiful unto men,
But within are full of dead men's bones;
Even so you outwardly appear righteous unto men,
But inwardly are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

* Note 13.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XXIII

(Matt. 23: 16-22, 24.)

You blind guides who say, "It is nothing to swear by
the Temple;

But whosoever swears by the gold of the Temple is
bound,"

You fools and blind, which is the greater,
The gold or the Temple that sanctifies the gold?

"Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing;
But he is bound who swears by the gift upon the altar."

You blind! Which is the greater,
The gift or the altar that sanctifies the gift?

Verily, he who swears by the altar,
Swears by it and by all things thereon;

And he who swears by the temple,
Swears by it and by Him who dwells therein.

And he who swears by Heaven,
Swears by the throne of God and Him who sits thereon;

You blind guides, you strain out of the gnat,
But swallow the camel.

II

THE BOOK OF PARABLES

I

(Matt. 13: 5-8. Mark 4: 3-8. Luke 8: 5-8.)

Behold a sower went forth to sow,
And as he sowed some fell by the wayside,
And the birds came and devoured them.

And others fell upon the rocky places,
And straightway they sprang up,
Because they had no deepness of earth.

And because they had no root,
When the sun was risen, they were scorched,
And they withered away.

And others fell among thorns,
And the thorns grew up and choked them,
And they became unfruitful.

Others fell upon the good ground,
And yielded fruit a hundredfold,
Some sixty and some thirtyfold.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

II

(Matt. 18: 12, 13. Luke 15: 4-6.)

What man of you having a hundred sheep,
And having lost one of them,
Does not leave the ninety and nine
In the wilderness,
And go after that which is lost,
Until he find it.

And when at last he has found it,
He lays it on his shoulders rejoicing;
And when he comes home,
He calls together his neighbors,
Saying to them, "Rejoice with me,
For I have found my sheep."

So there shall be joy in heaven,
Over one sinner who repents,
More than over ninety and nine,
Who need no repentance.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

III*

(Luke 13: 6-9.)

A certain man had a fig-tree,
Planted in his vineyard;
And he came seeking fruit,
And found none thereon.

And he said to the vine-dresser,
“Lo! these many years I come seeking fruit,
And I find none upon this tree;
Why does it cumber the ground?”

And he answered, “Sir, leave it another year,
Till I shall dig about it and dung it;
And if it bear fruit thenceforth—well;
But if not, you shall cut it down.”

*Note 12.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

IV

(Luke 13: 25-27.)

When the Master of the house,
Has risen up and closed the door,
Then shall you be left standing without.

Then shall you knock and say, "Lord, open
to us!"
And He shall answer and say to you,
"I know you not, whence you are."

Then shall you begin to say,
"We did eat and drink in Your presence,
And You taught in our streets."

And He from within shall say,
"Verily, I know not whence you are;
Depart from Me you workers of iniquity!"

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

V *

(Luke 18: 10-14.)

Two men went up to the temple to pray,
The one a Pharisee, the other a publican.

The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself:
“God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men,
Extortioners, unjust, adulterers,
Nor even as this publican;
I fast twice in the week,
I give tithes of all that I possess.”

But the publican, standing afar off,
Would not lift up so much as his eyes to heaven,
But smote upon his breast and said,
“God, be merciful to me, a sinner.”
This man went down to his house, justified,
Rather than the other.

* Note 12.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

VI

(Luke 14: 8-11.)

When you are bidden to a marriage feast,
 Sit not down in the chief seat;
Lest perhaps a more honorable man be bidden,
 And he that bade yourself and him shall come,
And say to you, “Give this man place.”
 Then with shame shall you take the lowest place.

But when you are bidden to a feast,
 Go and sit in the lowest place;
Then when he who has bidden you comes,
 He shall say, “Friend, go up higher.”
Then shall you have glory
 Before all who sit at meat with you.

Every one who exalts himself shall be humbled;
And he who humbles himself shall be exalted.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

VII

(Luke 17: 7-10.)

What man is there who has a servant,
That is plowing or keeping sheep,
 That will say to him,
When he is come in from the field,
“Come straightway and sit down to meat?”

Will he not rather say to him,
“Make ready wherewith I may sup;
 And gird yourself and serve me,
Till I have eaten and drunken;
 And then shall you eat and drink.”

Does he thank that servant
Because he does these things?
 So when you have done what is commanded,
You also say, “We are unprofitable servants;
 We have but done that which is our duty.”

THE POEMS OF JESUS

VIII

(Luke 18: 2-5.)

There was a judge in a certain city,
Who feared not God nor regarded man;
And there was a widow in that city,
Who came to him, saying,
“Avenge me of my adversary.”

And for awhile he would not;
But afterwards he said within himself,
“Because this widow troubles me,
I will avenge her,
Lest she wear me out by her coming.”

Hear what the unjust judge says!
And shall not God avenge His own elect?
They cry to Him day and night,
And He is long-suffering over them;
I tell you He will avenge them speedily.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

IX

(Luke 11: 5-8.)

Which of you shall go to a friend at midnight,
And say to him, "Friend, lend me three loaves,
For a friend of mine is come to me from a journey,
And I have nothing to set before him."

And he from within shall answer and say,
"Trouble me not; the door is now shut,
And my children are with me in bed;
I can not rise and give you."

Though he will not rise and give him,
Because he is his friend,
Yet because of his importunity,
He will arise and give him as many as he needs.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

X

(Luke 12: 16-20.)

The ground of a certain rich man produced plentifully,
And he reasoned within himself, saying, "What shall
I do?

Because I have not where to bestow my fruits."

And he said, "This will I do:
I will pull down my barns and build greater;
And there will I bestow all my goods and my corn."

"And I will say to my soul,
'Soul, you have much goods laid up for many years,
Take your ease; eat, drink, and be merry.' "

But God said unto him, "O foolish one!
This night is your soul required of you;
And the things you have prepared, whose shall
they be?"

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XI

(Luke 14: 28-33.)

Which of you desiring to build a tower,
Does not first sit down and count the cost,
Whether he have wherewith to complete it?
Lest having laid the foundation and is not able
to finish,
All that behold begin to mock him, saying,
“This man began to build, and could not finish.”

What king, as he goes to encounter another in war,
Does not first sit down and take counsel,
Whether he be able with ten thousand,
To meet him who comes against him with twenty?
Or else, while the other is a great way off,
He sends an embassage and desires conditions of
peace.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XII

(Matt. 13: 24-30.)

A man sowed good seed in his field;
But while men slept an enemy came
And sowed tares among the wheat.

When the blade sprang up,
And brought forth fruit,
Then appeared the tares as well.

His servants came and said to him,
“Did you not sow good seed,
Whence then are there tares in the field?

He answered, “An enemy has done this,”
And the servants said to the Householder,
“Will you not that we gather them up?”

He said, “Nay, lest while you gather up the
tares,
You root up the wheat as well;
Let both grow together until the harvest;

Then will I say to the reapers, Gather up
first the tares,
And bind them in bundles to burn them,
But gather the wheat into my barn.”

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XIII

(Matt. 18: 23-34.)

The Kingdom of Heaven is likened unto a certain King,
Who would make a reckoning with his servants.

*

When he began to reckon, one was brought
to him
Who owed him ten thousand talents,
But had naught wherewith to pay.

The king commanded him to be sold,
And his wife and his children,
And payment to be made.

The servant fell down and worshiped him,
Saying, "Lord, have patience with me,
And I will pay you all."

And the lord of that servant,
Being moved with compassion, released him,
And forgave him that debt.

* * *

But that servant went out,
And found one of his fellow-servants,
Who owed him a hundred pence.

And he laid hands on him,
And took him by the throat,
Saying, "Pay what you owe."

THE POEMS OF JESUS

His fellow-servant fell down and besought him,
Saying, "Have patience with me,
And I will pay you all."

And he would not hear him,
But cast him into prison,
Till he should pay what was due.

* * *

His fellow-servants were very angry,
When they saw what was done,
And came and told their lord.

Then his lord called unto him and said,
"You wicked servant, because you besought me,
I forgave you that debt.

As I had mercy upon you,
Should you not have had mercy
Upon your fellow-servant?"

And his lord was wroth,
And delivered him to the tormentors,
Till he should pay all that was due.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XIV

(Luke 16: 19-31.)

A certain rich man was clothed
With linen and fine purple,
Faring sumptuously every day.

And a certain beggar named Lazarus
Was laid at his gate, full of sores;
And desiring to be fed with the crumbs
Which fell from the rich man's table,
Even the dogs came and licked his sores.

But it came to pass that the beggar died,
And was carried by the angels to Abraham's
bosom;
And the rich man also died and was buried;
And in Hades he lifted up his eyes,
And saw afar off Lazarus in Abraham's
bosom.

And he cried, "Father Abraham!
Have mercy on me and send Lazarus,
That he may dip his finger in water,
And cool the tip of my tongue,
For I am in anguish in this flame."

And Abraham said, "Son, remember,
You in your lifetime received your good things,
And Lazarus in like manner his evil things;
But now he is comforted,
And you are in anguish.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

Besides all this, between us and you,
There is a great gulf fixed
That they may not be able,
Who would pass from hence to you;
And none may pass over to us.”

And he said, “I pray you, father,
Send him to my father’s house;
For I have five brethren,
That he may testify to them,
Lest they come also to this place.”

But he said, “They have Moses and the
Prophets;
Let them hear them.”
But he answered, “Nay, Father Abraham!
But if one goes to them from the dead,
They will repent.”

But he said, “If they hear not them,
Neither will they be persuaded,
If one rise from the dead.”

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XV

(Luke 16: 1-8.)

A rich man's steward was accused to him
That he was wasting his goods;
And he called to him and said,
"What is this that I hear of you?"

"Render an account of your stewardship,
For you can no longer be steward."

And the steward said within himself, "What
shall I do,
Seeing my lord takes from me the stewardship?"

"I have not strength to dig, to beg I am ashamed;
I am resolved what to do:
That when I am put out of the stewardship,
They may receive me into their houses."

And calling to him each of his lord's tenants,
He said to the first, "How much do you owe my
lord?"
And he said, "A hundred measures of oil."
And he said to him, "Take your lease and write
fifty."

Then said he to another, "How much do you owe?"
And he said, "A hundred measures of wheat."
And he said to him, "Sit down quickly,
And take your lease and write fourscore."

THE POEMS OF JESUS

And his lord commended the unrighteous steward,
Because he had done wisely;

For the sons of this world, for their generation
Are wiser than the children of light.

And I say to you, make to yourselves friends,
By means of the mammon of unrighteousness,
That when it shall fail,
They may receive you into eternal tabernacles.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XVI

(Matt. 20: 1-16.)

The Kingdom of Heaven is like
Unto a man that is a householder,
Who went early in the morning,
To hire laborers into his vineyard;
And when he had agreed with them for a penny a day,
He sent the laborers into his vineyard.

And he went out about the third hour,
And saw others standing in the market place idle;
And he said to them, "Go you also into the vineyard,
And whatsoever is right, I will give you."
Again, about the sixth and ninth hours,
He went out and did likewise.

And about the eleventh hour he went out,
And found others standing idle,
And he said to them, "Why do you stand here all
day?"
They said to him, "Because no man has hired us."
He said to them, "Go you also to the vineyard;"
And they went their way.

And when the even was come,
The lord of the vineyard said to his steward,
"Call the laborers and give them their hire,
Beginning from the last unto the first."
And when they came who were hired about the
eleventh hour,
They received every man a penny.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

When the first came, they expected more;
But they likewise received every man a penny;
And they murmured against the householder,
Saying, "These last have wrought but one hour,
And you have made them equal unto us,
Who have borne the burden and heat of the day."

But he answered, "Friend, I did you no wrong;
Did you not agree with me for a penny?
Take up that which is yours, and go your way;
It is my will to give unto this last as unto you.
Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own?
Or is your eye evil, because I am good?"

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XVII

(Mark 4: 26-29.)

So is the Kingdom of God.

A man casts seed upon the earth,
And sleeps and rises night and day;
And the seed springs up and grows.

The earth bears fruit of itself—
First the blade, and then the ear,
And then the full corn in the ear.

But when the fruit is ripe,
Then he puts forth the sickle,
Because the harvest is come.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XVIII

(Luke 15: 11-32.)

THE MAN WHO HAD TWO SONS.*

*

The Younger Son said to his Father,
“Father, give to me of the inheritance
The portion which falls to me.”

So he divided to him his living;
And not long after he gathered all together
And took his journey into a far country.

And there he wasted his substance;
And when he had spent all in riotous living,
There arose a mighty famine in that land.

And he began to be in want;
And went and joined himself to a citizen,
Who sent him to his fields to feed swine.

And he would fain have been filled
With the husks which the swine ate;
But no man gave unto him.

* * *

But when he came to himself, he said,
How many hired servants of my father’s
Have bread enough and to spare,
And I perish here with hunger.

I will arise and go to my father,
And will say to him, “Father, I have sinned
Against heaven and in your sight,
I am no more worthy to be called your son.”

*Note 14.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

And he arose and came to his father.
But while he was yet afar off, his father saw him,
 And he was moved with compassion,
 And ran and fell on his neck and kissed him.

And the son said to him, "Father, I have sinned
Against heaven and in your sight;
 I am no more worthy to be called your son.
 Make me as one of your hired servants."

But the father said to the servants,
"Bring forth quickly the best robe and put it on
 him;
Put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet,
And bring the fatted calf and kill it."

* * *

Now the elder son was in the field;
And as he came and drew nigh to the house,
He heard music and dancing.
 And he called to him one of the servants,
 And inquired what these things might be.

And he said to him, "Your brother is come,
And your father has killed the fatted calf,
Because he has received him safe and sound."
 And he was angry and would not go in;
 And his father came out and entreated him.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

But he answered and said to his father,
“Lo, these many years do I serve you,
And I never transgressed a commandment of yours;
And you never have given me a kid,
That I make merry with my friends.

But when this, your son, is come,
Who has devoured his living with harlots,
You killed for him the fatted calf.”
And he said to him, “Son, you are ever with me;
And all that is mine is yours.

But it was meet to make merry and be glad,
For this your brother was dead and is alive;
He was lost and is found.

Let us eat and make merry.”
And they began to make merry. *

*Note 15.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XIX

(Luke 10: 30-35.)

Going down from Jerusalem to Jericho,
A certain man fell among thieves,
Who stripped him and beat him,
And departed, leaving him half dead.

By chance a certain Priest was going down that way,
And when he saw him, he passed by on the other side;
In like manner also a Levite came where he was,
And when he saw him, passed by on the other side.

But a certain Samaritan as he journeyed,
Came where he was, and saw him,
And he was moved with compassion
And came and took care of him.

And he bound up his wounds,
Pouring on them oil and wine,
And set him on his own beast
And brought him to an inn.

On the morrow he took out two pence,
And gave them to the host, and said,
“Take care of him, and when I come again,
I will repay you whatever you spend more.”

Which of these three, do you think,
Proved neighbor to him that fell among thieves?

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XX

(Matt. 25: 1-13.)

Ten Virgins took their lamps
And went forth to meet the Bridegroom;
And five were wise and five were foolish;
For the foolish took their lamps, but no oil;
But the wise took oil in their vessels.

Now while the Bridegroom tarried,
They all slumbered and slept;
But at midnight there was a cry,
“Behold the Bridegroom comes!
Come you forth to meet Him!”

Then all those Virgins arose
And trimmed their lamps.
And the foolish said to the wise,
“Give us of your oil,
For our lamps are gone out.”

But the wise answered them,
“There is not enough for both;
Go to them that sell and buy for yourselves.”
And while they went away to buy,
The Bridegroom came.

They that were ready went in with Him,
And the door was shut,
Afterwards came the other Virgins,
Saying, “Lord, open to us!”
But He answered, “I know you not.”

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XXI

(Luke 14: 16-24.)

A certain man made a great supper,
And sent forth his servant at supper time,
 To say to them that were bidden,
“Come, for all things are now ready.”

They all began in unison to make excuse.
The first said, “I have bought a field,
 And must needs go to see it;
I pray you have me excused.”

Another said, “I have bought a fine yoke of oxen,
And must needs go out to prove them.”

Another said, “I have married a wife,
And therefore I can not come.”

The servant came and told his Lord these things;
And He was angry and said to His servant,
 “Go quickly into the streets and lanes of the
 city,
Bring here the poor, the maimed, the blind,
 and the lame.”

The servant said, “It is done as you commanded,
And yet there is room at the feast.”

And the Lord said to His servant,
 “Go into the highways and hedges.

“Compel them to come in,
That my house may be filled;
For none of those that were bidden
Shall taste of my feast.”

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XXII

(Matt. 22: 2-14.)

The Kingdom of Heaven is likened to a certain king,
Who made a marriage feast for his son,
And sent forth his servants to call to the feast
Those who were bidden, and they would not come.

Again he sent forth other servants, saying,
“Behold, I have made my dinner ready;
My oxen and my fatlings are killed.
Come to the marriage feast.”

But they made light of it and went their ways,
One to his farm, another to his merchandise,
And the rest laid hold on his servants,
And entreated them shamefully and killed them.

But the king was wroth and sent his armies,
And destroyed those murderers and burned their
cities.
Then said he to his servants, “The wedding is
ready,
But those who were bidden were not worthy.

Go you, therefore, to the parting of the highways,
And summon to the feast as many as you shall find.”
And those servants went out to the highways,
And gathered together both bad and good.

The wedding was filled with guests;
But when the king came in to see the guests,
He saw a man who had not on a wedding garment,
And he said, “Friend, how came you in hither?”

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

He was speechless, and the king said to his servants,
“Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into outer
darkness;
There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth;
For many are called, but few chosen.”

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XXIII

(Matt. 21: 33-39. Mark 12: 1-9. Luke 20: 9-16.)

There was a man who was a householder,
Who planted a vineyard and set a hedge about it,
And digged a pit for the wine press, and built a tower.

He let it out to husbandmen and went to another
country;
And at the season he sent to the husbandmen a
servant,
That they should give him of the fruits of the vineyard.

And the husbandmen beat him, and sent him away
empty.
And he sent yet another servant, and him also they
beat;
And they handled him shamefully and sent him away
empty.

And he sent yet a third, and they cast him forth.
And the lord of the vineyard said, "What shall I do?"
"I will send my beloved son; it may be they will
reverence him."

But when the husbandmen saw him, they reasoned
together:
"This is the heir; let us kill him, that the inheritance
may be ours."
And they killed him and cast him forth out of the
vineyard.

What then will the lord of the vineyard do?
He will come and destroy those husbandmen,
And will give the vineyard unto others.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XXIV

(Matt. 25: 14-30.)

A man going into a far country,
Called his own servants together,
And delivered to them his goods.

To one he gave five talents,
To another two, to another one,
To each according to his abilities.

And when he had gone on his journey,
He that had received the five talents,
Straightway went and traded with them.

And he gained other five talents.
And he that received the two talents,
In like manner gained other two.

But he that received the one talent,
Went away and digged in the earth,
And hid his lord's money.

Now, after a long time,
The lord of those servants came,
And made a reckoning with them.

He that received the five talents came,
And brought other five talents, saying,
“Sir, you delivered to me five talents.

Lo, I have gained other five talents.”
His lord said unto him, “Well done,
You good and faithful servant

THE POEMS OF JESUS

You have been faithful in a few things,
I will set you over many things;
Enter into the joy of your lord."

And he that received the two talents came,
And brought other two talents, saying,
"Sir, you delivered to me two talents.

Lo, I have gained other two talents."
And his lord said unto him, "Well done,
You good and faithful servant!"

And he also that received the one talent,
Came and said, "Lord, I knew thee,
That thou art a hard man.

And I was afraid and went away,
And hid your talent in the earth.
Lo, you have your own!"

But his lord answered and said to him,
"Out of your own mouth will I condemn you,
O wicked and slothful servant!

You knew that I was a hard man,
Reaping where I did not sow,
And gathering where I have not scattered.

You ought to have put my money to the
bankers,
And at my coming I would have received
My own again, with the interest thereon.

Take, therefore, his talent from him,
And cast the unprofitable servant into outer
darkness;
There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XXV

(Luke 19: 12-27.)

A certain nobleman went into a far country,
To receive for himself a kingdom and return.

And he called ten servants of his,
And gave them ten pounds,
And said, "Trade until I come."

But his citizens hated him,
And sent after him an embassage, saying,
"We will not have this man to reign over us."

It came to pass that when he returned,
After having received the kingdom,
That he commanded those servants
To be called that he might know
What they had gained by trading.

The first came before him, saying,
"Sir, your pound has gained ten pounds more."
And he said to him, "Well done, you good
servant.
Because you have been found faithful in a very
little,
Have authority over ten cities."

And the second came to him, saying,
"Your pound, sir, has made five pounds."
He said to him, "Well done, you good servant;
Because you have been faithful in a very little,
Be you over five cities."

THE POEMS OF JESUS

But another said, "Sir, behold your pound,
Which I have kept laid up in a napkin."

And he said to them that stood by,
"Take away his pound from him,
And give to him that has ten pounds."

And they said to him, "He has ten pounds."
But he said, "Unto every one that has, shall be
given,
And he shall have abundance;
But from him that has not,
Even that which he has shall be taken away."

As for these, my enemies,
Who would not that I should reign over them,
Bring hither and slay before me."

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XXVI

(Matt. 25: 31-46.)

When the Son of man shall come in His glory,
And all the angels with Him,
Then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory.

Before Him shall be gathered all nations,
And He shall separate them one from another,
As a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats.

And He shall set the sheep on His right,
And the goats upon His left hand.
Then shall the King say to those on His right hand:

“Come, you blessed of My Father,
Inherit the Kingdom prepared for you
From the foundation of the earth.

For I was an hungered and you gave Me meat;
I was thirsty and you gave Me drink;
I was a stranger and you took Me in;

I was naked and you clothed Me;
I was sick and you visited Me;
I was in prison and you came to Me.”

Then shall the righteous answer, saying to Him,
“Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered and fed Thee,
Or athirst and gave Thee drink?”

THE POEMS OF JESUS

“And when saw we Thee a stranger and took
Thee in;
Or found Thee naked and clothed Thee;
And when saw we Thee sick and in prison and
came to Thee?”

And the King shall answer and say to them:
“Inasmuch as you did it unto the least of these,
My brethren, you did it unto Me.”

Then shall the King say unto those on His left hand:
“Depart from Me, you cursed, into the eternal fire,
Prepared for the devil and his angels.

For I was an hungered and you gave Me no meat;
I was thirsty and you gave Me no drink;
I was a stranger and you took Me not in.

I was naked and you did not clothe Me;
I was sick and you visited Me not;
I was in prison and you did not come to Me.”

Then shall they also answer, saying,
“Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered,
And did not minister unto Thee?”

Then shall He answer them, saying,
“Inasmuch as you did it not unto one of these least,
You did it not unto Me.”

And these shall go away unto eternal punishment,
But the righteous unto life eternal.

III

THE ORACLES FROM THE FOURTH GOSPEL

I

(John 3: 11-13, 17, 31-34.)

We speak what we know,
And testify what we have seen,
And you receive not our witness.
If I have told you of earthly things and you believe not,
How shall you believe if I tell you of heavenly things?

No man has ascended into heaven,
But the Son of man has come down from heaven.
For God sent His Son into the world,
Not to condemn the world,
But that the world should be saved through
Him.

He that comes from above is above all;
He that is of the earth speaks the things of the earth.
He that comes from heaven is above all;
What He has seen and heard, He testifies,
But no man receives His testimony.

But he that has received his witness,
Has set his seal that God is true;
For He whom God has sent,
Speaks the words of God,
For He gives not His Spirit by measure.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

II

(John 3: 14-16, 18-20, 36.)

As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness,
Even so must the Son of man be lifted up,

That those believing in Him should have eternal life.

For God so loved the world,
That He gave His only begotten Son,
That no one believing in Him should perish.

He that believes on Him is not judged;
But he that believes not, has been judged already,
Because he has not believed on His name.

The light has come into the world,
And men loved darkness, rather than light,
Because their deeds were evil.

For every one that does evil, hates the light;
Neither does he come to the light,
Lest his deeds should be reproved.

But he that does the truth, comes to the light,
That his works may be made manifest,
That they have been wrought in God.

He that believes on the Son, has eternal life;
He that believes not, shall not see life,
But the wrath of God abides on him.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

III

(John 3:35; 5:19-23, 25-29.)

The Father loves the Son,
And has given all things into His hands
The Son can do nothing of Himself,
But what He sees the Father doing.
Whatsoever things the Father does,
These the Son also does in like manner.

The Father loves the Son,
And shows Him all things that Himself does;
And greater things than these will He show Him,
That you may marvel.
For as the Father raises the dead and gives
them life,
Even so the Son gives life to whom He will.

The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God,
And they who hearken shall live.
For as the Father has life in Himself,
So gave He to the Son to have life in Himself;
And He gave Him authority to execute judgment,
Because He is the Son of man.

Marvel not at this; the hour comes,
In which all that are in the tombs shall hear
His voice,
And they that have done good shall come forth
Unto the resurrection of life,
And they that have done evil shall come forth
Unto the resurrection of judgment.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

The Father judges no man,
But has given all judgment unto the Son,
That all may honor the Son,
Even as they honor the Father.
He that honors not the Son,
Honors not the Father.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

IV

(John 5:31-38.)

If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is not true;
It is another that bears witness of Me,
And I know that His testimony is true.

You sent to John, and he has witnessed to the
truth;
But the witness which I receive is not from man;
Howbeit I say these things that you may be saved.

He was a lamp that burns and shines,
And you were willing to rejoice in that light;
But the witness I have is greater than John.

The works that the Father has given Me to ac-
complish,
The very works I do, bear witness of Me;
And the Father who sent Me has borne witness
of Me.

You have neither heard His voice nor seen His
form,
Neither have you His word abiding in you,
For whom He sent, Him you believe not.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

V

(John 5: 39-47.)

You search the Scriptures, for you think
To find eternal life in them;

Yet you will not come to Me,
That you may have life.

Though the Scriptures testify of Me,
Yet I receive no glory of men;
But I know your hearts,
That you have not the love of God in you.

I am come in My Father's name,
And you receive Me not;
If another shall come in his own name,
Him you will receive.

How can you believe,
Who receive glory one of another,
But you do not seek the glory,
Which comes from God alone?

Think not that I accuse you to the Father;
There is one that accuses you:
Moses, on whom you have set your hopes,
For he it is who wrote of Me.

If you had believed Moses,
You would also believe Me;
But if you believe not his writing,
How shall you believe My word?

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

VI

(John 6:37-40.

All that the Father gives Me shall come to Me,
And him that comes to Me,
I will in no wise cast out.

I am come down from heaven,
Not to do My own will,
But to do the will of Him that sent Me.

This is the will of Him that sent Me,
That of all which He has given Me,
I should lose nothing.

This is the will of My Father,
That every one who believes the Son,
Should have eternal life.

No man can come to Me,
Except the Father draw him,
And I will raise him up at the last day.

Every one that has learned from the Father
comes to Me;
For no man has seen the Father,
Except Him that comes from God.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

VII*

(John 6: 48-51, 54-58.)

I am the bread of life;
Your fathers ate manna in the wilderness and died.
This is the bread which came down out of heaven,
That a man may eat thereof and not die.

I am the bread of life.
If any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever;
Yea, and the bread is My flesh,
Which I will give for the life of the world.

He that eats My flesh and drinks My blood,
Abides in Me and I in him.
As the living Father has sent Me, and I live
because of the Father,
So he that eats Me, shall live because of Me.

This is the bread that came down out of heaven,
Not as your fathers did eat and died;
He that eats this bread shall live forever,
For My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is
drink indeed.

*Note 16.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

VIII

(John 10: 1-5.)

He that enters not by the door
 Into the fold of the sheep,
But climbeth up some other way,
 Is a thief and a robber;
But he that enters by the door,
 Is the shepherd of the sheep.

To him the porter opens,
 And the sheep hear his voice;
He calls his own sheep by name,
 And leads them out.
When he has put forth all his own,
 He goes before them.

The sheep follow him,
 For they know his voice.
But a stranger will they not follow,
 But will flee from him,
For they do not know
 The voice of strangers.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

IX

(John 10: 11-18, 27-29.)

I am the Good Shepherd,
Who lays down His life for the sheep.

He that is an hireling,
And does not own the sheep,
Beholds the wolf coming,
And leaves the sheep and flees;
For he is but an hireling,
And does not care for the sheep.

I am the Good Shepherd,
And I lay down My life for the sheep;
My own sheep I know,
And My own know Me;
Even as the Father knows Me,
And I know the Father.

Other sheep I have,
Which are not of this fold;
Them also I must bring,
And they shall hear My voice;
And there shall be one fold
And one Shepherd for all.

Therefore does My Father love Me,
Because I lay down My life,
No one takes it from Me,
But I lay it down of Myself;
I have power to lay it down,
And I have power to take it again.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

X

(John 12: 24-26.)

Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die,
It abides by itself alone;
 But if it die, it bears much fruit.

He that loves his life shall lose it;
He that hateth his life in this world,
 Shall keep it unto life eternal.

If any man serve Me, let him follow Me,
And where I am, there shall My servant be;
 If any man serve Me, him will My Father honor.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XI

(John 12: 35, 36, 46.)

Yet a little while is the light with you;
Walk while you have the light,
That the darkness overtake you not;
He that walks in darkness,
Does not know where he goes.

While you have the light, believe on the light,
That you may become sons of light;
I am come a light into the world,
That whosoever believes on Me,
May not abide in darkness.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XII

(John 12: 47-50.)

If any man hears My sayings,
And keeps them not,
I judge him not;
For I came not to judge the world,
But to save the world.

He that rejects Me,
And receives not My sayings,
Has one that judges him;
The word which I have spoken,
This shall judge him in the last day.

For I have not spoken of Myself,
But the Father who sent Me,
Has given Me a commandment,
What I should say,
And what I should preach.

And I know His commandment,
That it is life eternal;
The things, therefore, that I speak,
Even as the Father has told Me,
So I declare them.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XIII

(John 13: 34, 35; 14: 21; 15: 8-12.)

A new commandment I give to you,
That you love one another,
As I have loved you.

By this shall all men know
That you are My disciples,
If you love one another.

He that has My commandments,
And keeps them,
He it is that loves Me.

And whosoever loves Me,
Shall be loved of My Father,
And I will manifest Myself to him.

Herein is My Father glorified,
That you bear much fruit,
So shall you be My disciples.

Even as the Father has loved Me,
I also have loved you;
Abide you in My love.

These things have I spoken to you,
That My joy may be in you,
And your joy may be full.

This is My commandment,
That you love one another,
Even as I have loved you.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XIV

(John 14: 1-3, 18, 27; 16: 33.)

Let not your heart be troubled;
You believe in God, believe also in Me;
In My Father's house are many mansions,
If it were not so, I would have told you.

I go to prepare a place for you,
And if I go and prepare a place for you,
I will come again and receive you to Myself,
That where I am, you may be also.

I will not leave you desolate;
Yet a little while and I come to you;
The world beholds Me no more, but you
see Me,
Because I live, you shall live also.

Peace I leave with you; My peace I give to you;
Not as the world gives do I give to you;
Let not your heart be troubled,
Neither let it be afraid.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XV

(John 14: 10-14, 16-20.)

The Father, who abides in Me, does His works;
Believe Me that I am in the Father and He in Me,
Or else believe Me for the very work's sake.

He that believes on Me shall do the works I do;
And greater works than these shall he do,
Because I go to the Father.

And I will pray the Father,
And He shall give to you another Comforter,
That He may abide with you forever.

The world can not receive the Spirit of truth;
For it beholds Him not, neither knows Him;
But you know Him, for He abides in you.

In that day you shall know
That I am in the Father,
And you in Me and I in you.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XVI

(John 15: 1-8, 10, 16.)

I am the true vine,
And My Father is the husbandman.
Every branch in Me that bears not fruit,
He takes away.

He purges every one that bears fruit,
That it may bear more fruit;
Now you are purged through My word,
Which I have spoken unto you.

Abide in Me and I in you;
As the branch can not bear fruit of itself,
Except it abide in the vine,
So neither can you except you abide in Me.

I am the vine, you are the branches;
He that abides in Me and I in him,
He it is that bears much fruit,
For apart from Me you can do nothing.

If a man abide not in Me,
He is cast forth as a withered branch;
And men gather them and cast them into the
fire.
And they are consumed.

If you abide in Me,
And My words abide in you,
You shall ask whatsoever you will,
And it shall be done unto you.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

If you keep My commandments,
You shall abide in My love;
Even as I have kept my Father's command-
ments,
And abide in His love.

You did not choose Me,
But I chose you and appointed you,
That you should go and bear fruit
And that your fruit should abide.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XVII

(John 15: 13-15.)

Greater love has no man
Than that for his friends,
A man lay down his life.

You are My friends,
If you do the things which I command you,
And have love one to another.

No longer do I call you servants,
For the servant does not know
What his lord does.

But I have called you friends;
For all things that I have heard,
I have made known unto you.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XVIII

(John 15: 18-24.)

If the world hate you,
You know it hated Me before you;
If you were of the world,
The world would love its own.

But you are not of the world,
But I choose you out of the world;
Therefore the world hates you—
Remember the word which I told you.

If they have persecuted Me,
They will also persecute you;
If they have kept My word,
They will keep yours also.

But these things will they do to you,
Because they know not Him that sent Me;
Whosoever hates Me,
Hates My Father also.

If I had not done among them
Works which none other did,
They had not had sin;
But now have they seen both Me and My
Father.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XIX

(John 16: 1-33; 14: 25-31.)

These things have I spoken to you,
That you should not be made to stumble;
They shall expel you from the synagogues,
Yea, the hour comes when whosoever kills you
Shall think that he offers service to God.

And these things will they do to you,
Because they have known neither the Father nor
Me;
But I have spoken these things to you,
That when the hour is come,
You may remember how I told you.

These things I said not to you at the first,
Because I was with you;
But now I go to Him that sent Me,
And because I have said these things,
Sorrow has filled your heart.

Nevertheless, I tell you the truth,
It is expedient for you that I go away;
For if I go not away,
The Comforter will not come to you,
But if I go, I will send Him to you.

He, when He is come, will convict the world,
In respect of sin, of righteousness and of judgment;
Of sin, because they believed not on Me;
Of righteousness, because I go to the Father;
Of judgment, because the prince of this world
has been judged.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

I have yet many things to say to you,
But you can not bear them now;
Howbeit when the Spirit of truth is come,
He shall guide you into all truth,
For He shall not speak of Himself.

He shall speak the things that He shall hear,
And He shall declare the things to be;
He shall glorify Me,
For He shall take of Mine,
And declare it unto you.

These things have I spoken unto you,
That in Me you shall have peace;
In the world you shall have tribulation,
But be of good cheer,
I have overcome the world.

These things have I spoken to you,
While yet abiding with you;
But the Comforter shall teach you,
And bring to your remembrance,
All things that I said to you.

If you loved Me, you would rejoice,
Because I go to the Father,
For My Father is greater than I;
Now have I told you before it happened,
That when it has happened, you may believe.

I will no more speak much with you;
For the prince of this world comes,
And has nothing in Me;
But that the world may know I love the Father,
As the Father has commanded, even so I do.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XX

(John 16: 20-22.)

You shall weep and lament,
 But the world shall rejoice;
You shall be sorrowful,
 But your sorrow shall become joy.

A woman in travail has sorrow,
 But when she is delivered of the child,
She remembers no more the anguish,
 For joy that a man is born into the world.

You therefore now have sorrow,
 But I will see you again;
And your hearts shall rejoice,
 And your joy no man takes from you.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XXI

(John 17: 1-26.)

Father, the hour is come! Glorify Thy Son,
That Thy Son also may glorify Thee!

Thou hast given Me authority over all flesh,
That I should give eternal life,
To as many as Thou hast given Me.

And this is life eternal,
That they might know Thee,
And Him whom Thou hast sent.

I have glorified Thee on the earth;
Having accomplished the work,
Which Thou gavest Me to do;
And now glorify Me with Thine own self,
With the glory which I had with Thee,
Before the world was.

I manifested Thy name to those
Whom Thou gavest Me out of the world;
Thine they were and Thou gavest them Me;
They have kept Thy word,
And now they know that all things are from
Thee,
Which Thou hast given Me.

The words which Thou hast given Me,
I have given them,
And they have received them;
They have known that I came forth from Thee,
And have believed that Thou didst send Me,
And now I pray for them.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

I pray not for the world,
But for them whom Thou hast given Me,
For they are Thine as well.

All things that are Mine are Thine,
And all that is Thine is Mine,
And I am glorified in them.

I am no more in the world,
But these are in the world,
And I am coming to Thee;

Holy Father, keep them in Thy name,
Whom Thou hast given to Me,
That they may be one as we.

While I was with them I kept them;
I guarded them in Thy name,
And none of them is lost;

These things I speak in the world,
That they may have my joy,
Fulfilled in themselves.

I have given them Thy word,
And the world has hated them,
But do not take them from the world;

Keep them from the evil one,
For they are not of the world,
As I am not of the world.

Sanctify them in the truth,
For as Thou didst send Me into the world,
So I have sent them into the world;

And for their sake I sanctify Myself,
That they also may be sanctified in the truth,
The word is truth.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

Neither pray I for these alone;
But for them also who believe on Me
Through the word which they preach;
That they all may be one,
Even as Thou in Me and I in Thee,
That they all may be in us.

I have given them the glory,
Which Thou hast given Me,
That they may be one as we are;
That the world may know
That Thou didst send Me and lovedst them
Even as Thou lovedst Me.

Father, those whom Thou hast given Me,
I desire that where I am they may be also;
That they may behold My glory
Which Thou hast given Me,
For Thou lovedst Me
Before the foundation of the world.

O, righteous Father!
The world knew Thee not, but I knew Thee;
And these have known that Thou didst
send me,
And I have made known to them Thy name,
That the love wherewith Thou lovedst Me,
May be in them, and I in them.

IV

POETIC FRAGMENTS

I

(Matt. 5: 17, 18.)

Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the
Prophets;
I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill;
Till heaven and earth pass away,
No jot nor tittle shall pass from the Law,
Except it be fulfilled.

II

(Matt. 5: 19.)

Whosoever shall break the least commandment,
And shall teach men so,
He shall be called least in the Kingdom of Heaven;
But whosoever shall do and teach them,
He shall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven.

III

(Matt. 5: 20.)

Except your righteousness shall exceed,
The righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees,
You shall in no wise enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

IV

(Matt. 5: 23, 24.)

If you are offering your gift at the altar,
And there remember that your brother has aught
against you,
Leave there your gift before the altar and go your
way.
First be reconciled to your brother,
And then come and offer your gift.

V

(Matt. 5: 25, 26.)

Agree with your adversary quickly,
While you are in the way with him;
Lest haply, he deliver you to the judge,
And the judge deliver you to the officer,
And the officer shall cast you into prison.
You shall by no means come out thence,
Till you have paid the uttermost farthing.

VI

(Matt. 6: 14, 15.)

If you forgive men their trespasses,
Your Heavenly Father will also forgive your tres-
passes;
But if you forgive not men their trespasses,
Neither will your Heavenly Father forgive your
trespasses.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

VII

(Matt. 6: 19-21. Luke 12: 33, 34.)

Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth,
Where moth and rust corrupt,
And where thieves break through and steal.

But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven,
Where neither moth nor rust corrupt,
And where thieves do not break through nor steal.

For where your treasure is,
There will your heart be also.

VIII

(Matt. 6: 22, 23. Luke 11: 34-36.)

The light of the body is the eye;
If, therefore, your eye be single,
 Your whole body shall be full of light.
But if your eye be evil,
 Your whole body shall be full of darkness.
If, therefore, the light that is in you be darkness,
 How great is that darkness.

IX

(Matt. 6: 24.)

No man can serve two masters;
For either he will love the one,
 And hate the other;
Or else he will cleave to the one,
 And despise the other.
You can not serve God and Mammon.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

X

(Matt. 7:6.)

Give not that which is holy to the dogs;
Neither cast you your pearls before swine,
Lest they trample them under foot,
And turn and rend you.

XI

(Matt. 7:9-11.)

If any man's son ask bread,
Will he give him a stone?
Or if he ask for a fish,
Will he give him a serpent?

If you, being evil, know how
To give good gifts to your children,
How much more shall your Heavenly Father
Give good things to them that ask Him.

XII

(Matt. 7:13, 14. Luke 13:24.)

Enter in at the straight gate.

For wide is the gate,
And broad is the way,
Which lead to destruction,
And many there be that go in thereat.

For straight is the gate,
And narrow the way,
Which leads to life,
And few there be that find it.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XIII

(Matt. 7: 15.)

Beware of false prophets!
Who come to you in sheep's clothing,
But inwardly are ravening wolves.

XIV

(Matt. 7: 16-20.)

By their fruits shall you know them.
Do men gather grapes of thorns
Or pluck figs of thistles?

Every good tree brings forth fruit;
But the corrupt tree brings forth evil fruit;

A good tree can not bring forth evil fruit;
Nor can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

Every tree that brings not forth good fruit,
Is hewn down and cast into the fire.

By their fruits shall you know them.

XV

(Matt. 8: 11, 12.)

Many shall come from the east and the west,
And shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;
But the sons of the Kingdom shall be cast forth
into the outer darkness;
There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XVI

(Matt. 9: 12, 13.)

They that are whole
Have no need of a physician;
But they that are sick;
I am not come to call the righteous,
But sinners to repentance.

XVII

(Matt. 9: 15.)

Can the sons of the bridechamber mourn,
So long as the bridegroom is with them?
But the days will come
When the bridegroom shall be taken away,
And then shall they fast.

XVIII

(Matt. 9: 16.)

On an old garment, no man puts
A piece of undressed cloth;
For that which should fill it up,
Takes away from the garment,
And a worse rent is made.

XIX

(Matt. 9: 17.)

Men do not put new wine
Into old wine skins;
Else the skins burst,
The wine is spilled,
And the skins perish.

But they put new wine
Into new wine skins,
And both are preserved.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XX

(Matt. 9: 37, 38.)

The harvest is plenteous,
But the laborers are few.

Pray you the lord of the harvest,
That he send laborers into his harvest.

XXI

(Matt. 10: 16, 40, 41.)

I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves;
Be wise as serpents, and as harmless as doves.

He that receives you, receives Me;
And He that receives Me receives Him that sent Me.

He that receives a prophet in the name of a prophet,
Shall receive a prophet's reward;

He that receives a righteous man in the name of a
righteous man,
Shall receive a righteous man's reward.

XXII

(Matt. 8: 26, 27.)

There is nothing covered
That shall not be revealed;
And nothing is hidden
That shall not be made known.

What is told in the darkness
Shall be spoken in the light;
And what you hear in the ear
Shall be proclaimed from the housetops.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XXIII

(Matt. 11: 28-30.)

Come unto Me all you that labor,
And to the heavy laden I will give rest;
Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me,
For I am meek and lowly in heart;
You shall find rest unto your souls,
For My yoke is easy and My burden is light.

XXIV

(Matt. 12: 11.)

What man is there of you that has one sheep,
And if this shall fall in a pit on the Sabbath,
Will he not lay hold of it and lift it out?

XXV

(Matt. 12: 30.)

He that is not with Me is against Me;
And he that does not gather with Me, scatters.

XXVI

(Matt. 12: 31, 32.)

Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven men,
But the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.
Whoever speaks against the Son of man shall be for-
given;
But whoever speaks against the Holy Ghost shall not
be forgiven,
Neither in this life nor in the world to come.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XXVII

(Matt. 13: 31, 32.)

The Kingdom of Heaven is like a grain of mustard seed,

Which a man took and sowed in his field;

Which indeed is less than all the seeds,

But when it is grown it becomes a tree,

And the birds of the heaven come

And lodge in the branches thereof.

XXVIII

(Matt. 13: 33.)

The Kingdom of Heaven is like the leaven,

Which a woman took

And hid in three measures of meal,

Till all was leavened.

XXIX

(Matt. 13: 44.)

The Kingdom of Heaven is like a treasure,

Which a man found hidden in a field;

And in his joy he goes

And sells all he has,

And buys that field.

XXX

(Matt. 13: 45.)

The Kingdom of Heaven is like a man,

A merchant seeking goodly pearls;

And having found one pearl of great price,

He sold all that he had,

And went and bought it.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XXXI

(Matt. 13: 46-49.)

The Kingdom of Heaven is like a net,
That was cast into the sea,
And gathered of every kind.

They drew it up on the beach,
And gathered the good into vessels,
And the bad they cast away.

So shall it be at the end of the world;
The angels shall come forth
And shall sever the wicked from the righteous.

XXXII

(Matt. 13: 41-43.)

It shall come to pass at the end of the world,
The Son of man shall send forth His angels,
And shall gather out of His Kingdom
All things that offend.

And those that have done iniquity,
They shall cast into the furnace of fire;
Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun
In the Kingdom of their Father.

XXXIII

(Matt. 13: 52.)

Every scribe who is a disciple to the Kingdom,
Is like a man who is a householder,
Who brings forth out of his treasure
Things that are new and things that are old.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XXXIV

(Matt. 16: 26.)

What shall a man be profited,
If he gain the whole world and lose his soul?
Or what has a man to give in exchange for his soul?

XXXV

(Matt. 16: 27.)

The Son of man shall come
In the glory of His Father;
Then shall He render to every man
According to his deeds.

XXXVI

(Matt. 17: 20.)

If you have faith as a grain of mustard seed,
You shall say to this mountain,
“Remove hence to yonder place!”
And it shall temove.
Nothing shall be impossible to you.

XXXVII

(Matt. 18: 19, 20.)

If two of you shall agree on earth,
As touching anything that they shall ask,
It shall be done for them of My Father;
For where two or three are gathered,
There am I in the midst of them.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XXXVIII

(Matt. 19: 23-26.)

It is hard for a rich man
To enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

It is easier for a camel
To go through a needle's eye

Than for a rich man
To enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

With men it is impossible;
With God all things are possible.

XXXIX

(Matt. 19: 14.)

Suffer the little children,
And forbid them not to come to Me,
For of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.

XL

(Matt. 21: 28-31.)

A man had two sons, and he came to the first
And said, "Son, go work to-day in the vineyard."

And he answered him, "I will not."
But afterwards he repented and went.

And he came to the second and said the same.
He answered, "I go, sir," but went not.

Which of the two, do you think,
Did the will of his father?

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

XLI

(Matt. 22: 37-40.)

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,
And with all thy soul, and all thy strength;
This is the first and great commandment.

And the second is like unto it:
Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.
On these commandments hang the Law and the
Prophets.

XLII

(Matt. 23: 10, 11.)

Be not you called masters;
For one is your Master, the Messiah;
And he that is greatest among you,
Shall be the servant of all.

XLIII

(Matt. 12: 34-37.)

How can you, being evil, speak good things?
For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth
speaks.

The good man, out of his good treasure, brings forth
good gifts;
The evil man, out of his evil treasure, brings forth
evil gifts.

For every idle word which men shall speak,
They shall give an account thereof in the judgment.

For by your words shall you be justified;
And by your words shall you be condemned.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XLIV

(Matt. 12: 41, 42.)

The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment,
And shall condemn this generation;

For they repented at the preaching of Jonah,
And behold, a greater than Jonah is here.

The Queen of the South shall rise up in the judgment
And shall condemn this generation;

For she came from the ends of the earth
To hear the wisdom of Solomon,
And behold, a greater than Solomon is here.

XLV

(Matt. 23: 37-39.)

Jerusalem! Jerusalem! which kills the prophets,
And stones them who are sent unto her!

How often would I have gathered your children
As a hen gathers her chickens under her wing.

But you would not.

Lo, your house is left to you desolate.

You shall not see Me henceforth till you say,
“Blessed is He that comes in the name of the Lord!”

XLVI

(Matt. 23: 29-32.)

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!
For you build the sepulchers of the prophets,
And you garnish the tombs of the righteous.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

And you say, "If we had been in the days of our fathers,
We would not have been partakers with them
In the blood of the prophets."

Wherefore you witness to yourselves
That you are the sons of those who slew the prophets;
Fill you up the measure of your fathers.

XLVII

(Matt. 24: 32-35.)

Now from the fig-tree learn her parable;
When her branch is become tender,
And puts forth leaves,
You know that summer is nigh.

Even so, when you see these things,
You know that He is nigh, even at the door.
This generation shall not pass away
Till all these things be accomplished.

Heaven and earth shall pass away,
But my words shall not pass away.

XLVIII

(Matt. 28: 19, 20.)

All power in heaven and earth is given unto Me.
Go you, therefore, and make disciples of all nations,
Teaching them to observe all that I have commanded.
And lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

XLIX

(Mark 10: 42-45.)

The rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them;
And their great ones exercise authority;
But it is not so among you.

But whosoever would be great among you, shall be
your minister;
And whosoever would be first among you, shall be
the servant of all;
For the Son of man came not to be ministered unto,
But to minister and to give His life a ransom for
many.

L

(Luke 6: 39.)

Can the blind lead the blind?
Shall they not both fall into the pit?

LI

(Luke 9: 26.)

Whoever shall be ashamed of Me and My words,
Of him shall the Son of man be ashamed
When He comes in His glory with His holy angels.

LII

(Luke 9: 58.)

The foxes have holes,
The birds of the air have nests,
But the Son of man has no place
Whereon to lay His head.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

LIII

(Luke 10: 20.)

Rejoice not that spirits are subject unto you;
But rejoice that your names are written in the Book
of Life.

LIV

(Luke 12: 35-38.)

Let your loins be girded about,
And your lamps burning,
And you yourselves like men looking for their Lord,
When He shall return from the feast.
Blessed are those servants.

If He shall come in the second watch,
Or in the third and find them watching,
That when He comes and knocks,
They may straightway open to Him,
Blessed are those servants.

Verily, He shall gird Himself,
And make them sit down to meat,
And shall come and serve them,
Blessed are those servants,
Whom the Lord finds watching.

LV

(Luke 12: 39.)

If the master of the house had known
In what hour the thief would come,
He would have watched and not suffered
His house to be broken through.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

LVI

(Luke 12:48.)

To whomsoever much is given,
Of him will they ask the more;
And to whom they commit much,
Of him shall much be required.

LVII

(Luke 12: 42-48.)

Who is that faithful and wise steward,
Whom his lord shall set over his household,
To give them meat in due season?

If his lord, when he returns,
Shall find the servant so doing,
He will set him over all he has.

But if that servant shall say in his heart,
“My lord delays his coming,”
And shall begin to beat the servants,
And to eat and drink and be drunken,
The lord of that servant shall come
In a day and an hour that he thinks not,
And shall cut him asunder,
And appoint his portion with the unfaithful.

The servant that knew his lord’s will,
And made not ready nor obeyed his will,
Shall be beaten with many stripes.

But the servant that did not know his will,
But did things worthy of stripes,
Shall be beaten with few stripes.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

LVIII

(Luke 12: 54-56.)

When you see a cloud in the west,
You say, "Straightway there comes a shower;"
And so it comes to pass.

And when you see a south wind blowing,
You say, "There will be a scorching heat;"
And presently it comes about.

O hypocrites! you know how to discern
The face of the earth and the sky,
But can not tell the signs of the times.

LIX

(Luke 16: 15.)

You justify yourselves in the sight of men,
But God knows your hearts;
That which is exalted among men,
Is an abomination with God.

LX

(Luke 15: 8-10.)

What woman that has ten pieces of silver,
If she lose but one of them,
Does not light a lamp,
And sweep the house,
And seek diligently till she find it?

And when she has found it,
She calls together her friends and neighbors,
Saying, "Rejoice with me,
For I have found the piece
Which I had lost."

THE POEMS OF JESUS

LXI

(Luke 16: 10-12.)

He that is faithful in a very little,

Is faithful also in much;

He that is unrighteous in a very little,

Is unrighteous also in much.

If you have not been faithful in the unrighteous
mammon,

Who will commit to your trust the true riches?

If you have not been faithful in that which is another's,

Who will give you that which is your own?

LXII

(Luke 17: 3, 4.)

If your brother sin, rebuke him;

And if he repent, forgive him;

If he sin against you seven times in the day,

And seven times turn to you saying, "I repent,"

You shall forgive him.

LXIII

(Luke 17: 20, 21.)

The Kingdom of God comes not with observation,

Neither shall they say, "Lo, here," or, "There."

The Kingdom of God is within you.

LXIV

(John 1: 50, 51.)

Greater things than these shall you see;

For you shall see the heavens opened,

And behold the angels of God

Ascending and descending round the Son of man.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

LXV

(John 3: 5-8.)

Except a man be born of water and the Spirit,
He can not enter the Kingdom of God;
That which is born of the flesh is flesh,
And that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.

Marvel not that you must be born from above;
The wind blows where it will and you hear the sound
thereof,
But you can not tell whence it comes, nor whither
it goes;
So is every one that is born of the Spirit.

LXVI

(John 4: 13, 14.)

Whoever drinks of this water shall thirst again;
But he shall never thirst who drinks
Of the water that I shall give him.

But the water that I shall give him,
Shall become in him a well of water,
Springing up into eternal life.

LXVII

(John 4: 23, 24.)

The true worshipers shall worship the Father,
For the Father seeks such to worship Him;
God is a Spirit, and they who worship Him,
Must worship Him in spirit and in truth.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

LXVIII

(John 4: 35, 36.)

Lift your eyes and behold the fields;
They are white already unto the harvest.

He that reaps receives wages,
And gathers fruit unto life eternal,
That sower and reaper may rejoice together.

LXIX

(John 5: 30; 7: 18.)

I can of my own self do nothing.

As I hear, I judge, and my judgment is righteous,
Because I seek not my own will,
But the will of Him that sent Me.

He that speaks from himself, seeks his own glory;
But he that seeks the glory of Him that sent him,
Is true, and there is no unrighteousness in him.

LXX

(John 6: 27.)

Work not for the food which perishes,
But for the food which endures to eternal life,
Which the Son of man shall give you;
For Him has God the Father sealed.

LXXI

(John 6: 63.)

It is the spirit that gives life,
The flesh profits nothing;
The words that I speak to you,
They are spirit and are life.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

LXXII

(John 7: 6, 7.)

My time is not yet come,
 But your time is always ready;
The world can not hate you,
 But Me it hates,
Because I testify of it,
 That its ways are evil.

LXXIII

(John 7: 16, 17.)

My teaching is not Mine,
 But His that sent Me.
If any man will to do My will,
 He shall know the teaching,
Whether it be of God,
 Or whether I speak of Myself.

LXXIV

(John 7: 28, 29.)

You both know Me,
And you know whence I am.

For I am not come of Myself;
But He that sent Me is true,
 But Him you do not know;
 But I know Him,
Because I am from Him,
And He has sent Me.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

LXXV

(John 7: 33, 34.)

Yet a little while I am with you;
Then I go to Him that sent Me.
You shall seek Me and shall not find Me;
And whither I go you can not come.

LXXVI

(John 8: 12.)

I am the light of the world;
He that follows Me shall not walk in darkness,
But shall have the light of life.

LXXVII

(John 8: 14-18.)

If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is true;
For I know whence I came and whither I go;
But you know not whence I came nor whither I go.

You judge after the flesh, but I judge no man.
Yea, and if I judge, My judgment is true;
For I am not alone, but the Father is with Me.

It is written that the witness of two men is true;
I am one who bears witness of Myself,
And the Father who sent Me, bears His witness.

LXXVIII

(John 8: 21-23.)

I go away and you shall seek Me;
Whither I go you can not come;
You are from beneath, I am from above;
You are of this world, I am not of this world.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

LXXIX

(John 8: 28, 29.)

When you have lifted up the Son of man,
Then shall you know that I do nothing of
Myself,
But as the Father has taught Me,
I speak these things.

And He that sent Me is with Me.
The Father has not left Me alone,
For I do always the things
That are pleasing to Him.

LXXX

(John 8: 34-36.)

He that commits sin is the servant of sin,
And the servant does not dwell in the house;
But the Son abides forever;
Therefore, if the Son shall make you free,
You shall be free indeed.

LXXXI

(John 8: 42-47.)

If God were your Father, you would love Me;
For I came forth and am come from God;
Neither have I come of Myself, but He sent Me.

Why do you not understand My speech?
Because you can not hear My word;
For he that is of God, hears the word of God.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

LXXXII

(John 9:39.)

For judgment have I come into this world,
That they that see not, may see,
And they who see may become blind.

LXXXIII

(John 10: 27-29.)

My sheep hear My voice;
I know them and they follow Me;
I give to them eternal life,
And they shall never perish.

My Father gave them to Me,
And He is greater than all;
No one is able to snatch them
From My Father's hand.

LXXXIV

(John 10: 37, 38.)

If I do not the works of My Father, believe
Me not;
But if I do them, at least believe the works,
That you may know the Father is in Me,
And understand that I am in the Father.

LXXXV

(John 11: 9, 10.)

If a man walk in the day, he stumbles not,
Because he sees the light of this world;
But if he walk in the night, he stumbles,
Because the light is not in him.

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

LXXXVI

(John 5:24; 11:25, 26.)

He that hears My word and believes Him that sent Me,
Has eternal life and comes not into judgment,
But is passed from death unto life.

I am the resurrection and the life;
He that believes on Me, though he die, shall live;
And he that lives and believes on Me shall never die.

LXXXVII

(John 12:31, 32.)

Now is the judgment of this world,
Now shall the prince of this world be cast out;
And if I be lifted up from the earth,
I will draw all men to Me.

LXXXVIII

(John 14:6, 7.)

I am the way, the truth, and the life;
No man comes to the Father but by Me.
If you had known Me, you would have known My
Father also;
And from henceforth you have known Him and
have seen Him.

THE POEMS OF JESUS

LXXXIX

(John 16: 27, 28.)

The Father Himself loves you,
Because you have loved Me;
And you have believed
That I came forth from the Father.

I came out from the Father,
And am come into the world;
Again I leave the world
And go to the Father.

XC

(John 18: 36.)

My Kingdom is not of this world;
If My Kingdom were of this world,
Then would My servants fight;
But now is My Kingdom not from thence.

XCI

(John 18: 37.)

To this end have I been born,
For this am I come into the world,
That I should bear witness to the truth.
Every one that is of the truth hears My voice.

PART THREE
THE HYPOTHESIS

- I. THE CONTEXT OF THE JOHANNINE ORACLES.
- II. THE JERUSALEM GOSPEL.
- III. THEORY OF GOSPEL ORIGINS.
- IV. THE ARGUMENT IN OUTLINE.

I

THE CONTEXT OF THE JOHANNINE ORACLES

USING the severe test of Hebrew Parallelism as a critical instrument, the Fourth Gospel has revealed unsuspected similarity to the other Gospels. The so-called Discourses have been analyzed and found to consist in reality of poetical Logia of the same general character as the Logia preserved in the Synoptics. There is indeed a marked difference in respect of theme; but this leads to subjective criticism, a land of dangerous pitfalls, where bias is prone to illusion. Keeping to the safer realm of literary analysis, it is difficult to discriminate between the method used in the Johannine Logia and that used in the construction of the Logia in the other Gospels. This essential similarity has the highest critical value.

The chief factors in discriminating these poetic forms have been the thought-rhythm and the stanza formation. These methods have enabled the determination of the length of particular Logia. Occasionally marked difference in theme has justified the presentation of passages as separate Logia even when the

DID JESUS WRITE HIS OWN GOSPEL

same stanza structure was used in both. In point of fact it is altogether natural that occasionally the same form should have been used in Logia which have ultimately come into juxtaposition.

It remains now to test the relation of these discriminated Logia to the text of the Johannine narrative. The hypothesis of a combination and fusion of what were originally separate productions is quite natural. There are three general suggestions to this effect—first, the age custom of building books by such processes; second, the particular evidence that the Logia preserved by Matthew were so combined with a prose narrative; and third, the Gospel of John has already yielded evidences of combination and interpolation in the matter of incidents and memorabilia. The hypothesis of interpolated Logia but carries the process a step further.

The hypothetical Logia have already been presented; such anticipation of the process of discrimination and isolation as now confronts us was justified more by reasons of an artistic and practical nature than by the logic of the situation. Though the present inquiry should have preceded the formal presentation, it may suffice to recognize the logic of the relation in this special confession and so to hold it in mind.

For the inquiry now proposed, critical canons

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already used are serviceable. An interpolation inevitably bursts the original narrative asunder and leaves certain more or less defined sutures. The presence of the third factor of interpolated incidents complicates the problem, especially when incident and Logion fall into the same opening of the ground text. But when allowance has been made for this the critical value of the canon is still great. It is highly probable that in the case of interpolations the editorial process will leave some traces, either in obvious reasons for placing particular passages in particular places or in smoothing the way for the insertion or in drawing inferences therefrom. With these canons in mind we shall examine the relations of each of the discriminated Logia to the basal text.

I. The first of these Logia, beginning,

“We speak what we know,
And testify what we have seen,”

is set in a complicated situation. There are five factors in the problem, and allowance must be made for each of them:

a. There is first the relation to a second Logion which is commingled with it; this has, however, so definite a stanza structure, and a theme so unified and so clearly presented, that it is possible to trace it in its entirety, and so to eliminate its influence.

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b. The beginning of the third Logion is also a part of the same general interpolation; but the strong affinity of its opening lines,

“The Father loves the Son,
And has given all things into His hand,”

with the Logia passage which, though separated by pages of the text of the completed Gospel, is none the less the next such interpolation, suggests the elimination of this factor.

c. The first Logion as discriminated consists of four five-line stanzas, presenting the theme, “Testimony Concerning Heavenly Things.” It is bounded on the one side by the incident of Nicodemus, which is the last of a series of four interpolated memorabilia.

d. When this series is eliminated and the ground text reached, it is found that the next preceding sentences relate the commendation of Jesus by John the Baptist to two of his disciples; then follows an interview. Now, in the midst of the Logia passage under consideration, the narrative suddenly resumes,

“Now, after these things came Jesus and His
disciples into the land of Judæa—”

and then follows the contrasting work of Jesus and John, with John’s noble testimony to the superiority of Jesus.

e. At this point the narrative breaks to

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receive the remainder to the Logia passage; but following this the story takes up the thread again:

“When the Lord knew that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making more disciples than John—”

It is evident that the Logia cumber the narrative, and that their elimination, together with that of the interpolated incidents, enables the bringing together of the narrative in an altogether satisfying fashion. And this impression is confirmed by the fact that the general sense of the interview with Nicodemus affords a fine topical reason for the introduction of these Logia at this point, and so satisfies the canon of a revealed editorial process.

II. The problem of the second Logion is now made comparatively simple, since it is commingled with the first in a fusion that must have antedated the final redaction, the same description applies here. The combined Logia passage was treated as a unit. It is, however, worth noting that in the fusion of the Logia a fragment of the third Logion was also involved. This suggests that we are in reality dealing with a manuscript series of Logia which had had its own history of combination and development. In such a manuscript the second Logion would have been the interpolated passage, and hence

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confused with both the adjoining Logia as we now find it. But fortunately its three-line structure sufficiently discriminates it from the five-line stanza of the first and the six-line stanza of the third.

III. As has been indicated, the third Logion begins in immediate sequence to the first, but after two lines is interrupted by the concluding stanza of the second Logion; but the theme is later taken up with marked resemblance:

“The Father loves the Son,
And has given all things into His hand;
The Son can do nothing of Himself,
But what He sees the Father doing;
Whatsoever things the Father does,
These also the Son does in like manner.”

But between the second and third lines of the above stanza lies more than a whole chapter of the Gospel. The bulk of this, however, deals with the interpolated incident of The Woman of Samaria and the briefer story of the Healing of the Nobleman’s Son. The portion of the actual ground work intervening would constitute about two columns of manuscript; nor is it without significance that the remaining portion of the Logion is inserted where the narrative is broken by a notable copyist’s error—an entire page of the original narrative being transferred to a later position. This may have been done in copying, or quite as plausibly the manu-

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script may have been cut to allow the insertion of new data, and afterwards the sundered portion placed in a wrong connection. Since the Logia falls in this opening, the argument from the sutures demonstrates it to be an interpolation.

IV. In the same gap falls the fourth Logion. It is discriminated from the preceding Logion by a change of person, of theme, and of stanza structure. A distinction in two of these factors, theme and structure, serves also to mark it off from the next succeeding Logion.

V. This passage is separated from the fourth as indicated, and on the other side it is succinctly bounded by the interpolated incident of The Miracle of the Loaves.

VI. The recital of this miracle and its associated events is broken by the sixth Logion. The gain in continuity from the omission of the Logion is evident; when excised the passage reads:

“They said therefore to Him, ‘Lord, evermore give us this bread.’ Jesus said to them, ‘I am the bread of life.’ . . . The Jews, therefore murmured concerning Him, because He said, ‘I am the bread of life.’ ”

We may surmise, then, that the account of the miracle was first fused with the narrative, and that this Logion belonging to the Logia manuscript came into its present place when that

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series was distributed through the combined prose record.

VII. In contradistinction to this, the seventh Logion appears to have been associated with the Story of the Loaves before its fusion with the narrative, and even to have been used in the construction of the story, so intimately is it fused therewith. Its marked unity of thought and a certain refrain which runs through it enables its reconstruction. It may have been used in connection with the Love Feasts of the Early Church, and some such connection may have suggested the feasibility of working it into the developed incident. It is almost certain that it has an individual history, antedating the writing of the Incident and apart from the Logia Manuscript.*

VIII-IX. The same gap in the ground work that contains the Story of the Healing of the Blind Man receives also several Logia fragments and the beautiful Logia, The Sheepfold, and the Good Shepherd. In particular these Logia are introduced by the formal words, "Verily I say unto you." This marks a departure from the theme that precedes. At the close of the second Logion the narrative resumes. The continuity of this narrative with the passage before the interpolated story has already been shown. Hence we are under the

* Note 16.

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necessity of regarding these poems as also interpolations. The stanza construction of the Logia is similar; but they are sufficiently discriminated from each other by a change of person, of figure, and by a couplet which serves as an introduction to the second. The relation is complicated by the presence of Logia fragments, which may be portions of other Logia related in theme, or possibly interpretative comments. The confusion must have developed in the Logia manuscript and so have been transferred to its present place. It is to be noted also that there is in the ground work an allusion to sheep and their shepherd, which gives a topical reason for placing these beautiful poems where we now find them.

X. The tenth Logion is also set in an interpolated incident, but the sutures on either side show an artificial opening of the passage to receive it. This is apparent on presentation:

“Jesus said, ‘The hour is come when the Son of man should be glorified. . . . Father, glorify Thy name.’ ”

The theme of the Logion is distinct and its structure very marked.

XI. The theme of the narrative dealing with the blindness of the Jews in rejecting Jesus in the face of the evidences of His miraculous power, leads to the citation of the Old Testament, and may have suggested also the

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insertion of the little Logion concerning the Light. When it is excised the narrative gains in force and directness.

XII. The same reasons amply justified the insertions of the twelfth Logion as well.

We come now to a situation of considerable critical difficulty. The final redactor of the Gospel found that about half of his Logia material was undistributed; on the other there was left to him of his ground work but a single episode that admitted of receiving such material. It must needs be placed before the arrest of Jesus, for that event marked the end of His teaching function. Under these circumstances the mode of fusion is practically reversed—it is the Logia Manuscript that absorbs the narrative, with such facility as circumstances permit. In the next several chapters we are dealing with the Logia as basic. But the problem is complicated by the fact that the Logia manuscript has been built up; accretions and insertions mar its original simplicity. But by carefully noting the structural differences, and by allowing for the change of theme, it becomes possible to discriminate the several Logia with comparative accuracy. The continuity of the narrative, although developed by conversation and using several Logia fragments, helps also in the differentiation. The presentation is at best only proximate.

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XIII. This Logion, which is somewhat diffused, is restored because of a particular refrain which characterized it. It uses a special three-line stanza, which from the brevity of the lines is easily recognized; commonly the tristich is built of long, swinging phrases.

XIV. The first two stanzas of this Logion are distinguished by means of the canon of sutures:

“Jesus answered, ‘Whither I go you can not follow Me now.’ Peter said, ‘Lord, why can not I follow You?’ Jesus answered, ‘You shall follow Me afterwards; and whither I go, you know the way.’ . . . Thomas said to Him, ‘Lord, we know not whither You go, how can we know the way?’ ”

After the first stanzas have been thus determined, it is comparatively easy to discriminate the balance of the poem because of its kinship in form, theme, and its use of a certain refrain that makes for artistic unity.

XV. The fifteenth Logion is largely hypothetical; the critical problems are so indeterminate that its form is merely suggested.

XVI. This Logion follows a break in the narrative, announces a new theme, and uses a highly-developed figure, treated with artistic values that make its discrimination easy.

XVII. Changes in stanza structure and in theme from the distinct Logion preceding enable

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the differentiation of this Logion concerning Friendship.

XVIII. In much the same way is this passage discriminated; it has a highly characteristic stanza structure and a unity of theme.

XIX. The material of this Logion is scattered; its form is somewhat loose. It is evidently not a part of the original Logia manuscript, nor yet of the ground work; but it was probably attached to this latter at an earlier period than the final redaction. It is presented in a tentative form.

XX. Artistic beauty of figure and form sets this little Logion apart and identifies it in its completeness.

XXI. The final Logion has a stanza form that is unique; it is likewise unique in its theme, scope, and position; it appears to be an extended Valedictory, which is set at the close of the Logia manuscript. Its historic character is attested by allusions in the narrative to Logia passages which are identifiable with this. Thus in the incident of the Voice from Heaven, Jesus calls out, "Father, save Me from this hour! But for this cause came I unto this hour; Father, glorify Thy name." The resemblance to the first lines of the Logion is at once to be noted:

"Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son,
That Thy Son also may glorify Thee."

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So also in the resurrection narrative occurs the expression, "Jesus therefore said to them, . . . as the Father has sent Me, even so have I sent you." This is the counterpart of the expression in the Logion:

"Sanctify them in the truth;
For as Thou didst send Me into the world,
So have I sent them into the world."

From these passages it is fair to assume that the Logion had its separate existence and was recognized before the composition of the ground work of the Gospel. Certain errors of transcription make the work of restoration of form somewhat difficult and in places uncertain.

It is fitting now to consider what is left of the Gospel after these several passages have been excised; the portions so removed by criticism include approximately a dozen brief memorabilia, half as many elaborated incidents, and a score of Logia passages. If the Gospel had originally possessed a high literary unity, such mutilation must leave it in fragmentary condition. On the other hand if we are dealing with a true ground work into which passages have come by successive interpolation after the fashion of the times, then the excision of such passages will leave a narrative of greatly improved unity and power, with uniform literary quality, and a direct and vigorous move-

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ment. This can best be tested by presentation.

The contents of the narrative so presented will be found to have a certain geographic unity. We have already suggested the existence of a "Capernaum Document" to account for certain variations in the Synoptic Gospels; so this hypothetical ground work, because of a similar centering of the events which it records, may be styled the JERUSALEM GOSPEL. The name is suggestive and argues a certain reasonableness in the theme, and perhaps arouses anticipations. Accordingly there is next presented the discriminated text of the Jerusalem Gospel.

II

THE JERUSALEM GOSPEL

I.—*The Witness of John.*

There was a man sent from God,* whose name was John; he came for a witness that he might bear witness of the Light, that all might believe through him. He was not the Light, but came that he should bear witness of the Light. There was the true Light which lights every man's coming into the world. But John bore witness of Him, and cried, saying,

“This was He of whom I said,
He that comes after me
Is come before me,
For He was before me.”

This is the witness of John, when the Jews sent unto him priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, “Who are you?” He confessed and denied not; he confessed, “I am not the Messiah.” And they asked him, “Who, then? Are you Elijah?” And he said, “I am not.” “Are you the prophet?” and he answered, “No.” They said therefore unto him: “Who are you, that we may give an answer to them that sent us? What do you say of yourself?” He said:

“I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness,
Make straight the way of the Lord.”

* Cf. p. 377 seq.

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And they had been sent from the Pharisees. And they asked him: "Why do you baptize, if you are not the Messiah, neither Elijah, neither the Prophet?" John answered them, saying:

"I baptize with water.
In your midst stands One whom you know not,
Even He who comes after me,
The latchet of whose shoe
I am not worthy to unloose."

These things were done in Bethany, beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.

On the morrow he saw Jesus coming to him, and said:

"Behold the Lamb of God,
That takes away the sin of the world.

I knew Him not; but that He should be made manifest to Israel, for this cause I came baptizing with water." And John bore witness, saying: "I have beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven; and it abode upon Him. I knew Him not; but He that sent me to baptize in water, said unto me, 'Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, He it is that baptizes with the Holy Spirit.' And I have seen and borne witness that this is the Son of God."

Again on the morrow, John and two of his disciples were standing; and he looked upon Jesus as He walked, and said, "Behold the Lamb of God!" The two disciples heard him speak and they followed Jesus. Jesus turned and beheld them following, and said to them, "What do you seek?" They said to Him, "Rabbi,

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where do you dwell?" He said to them, "Come and see." They came therefore and saw where He abode, and they remained with Him that day; it was about the tenth hour. One of the two that heard John, and followed Him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He first found his own brother Simon, and said to him, "We have found the Messiah!" He brought him to Jesus; Jesus looked upon him and said, "You are Simon, son of John; you shall be called Peter."*

After these things came Jesus and His disciples into the land of Judea; and there He tarried with them and baptized. John also was baptizing in *Ænon*, near to Salim, because there was much water there; and they came and were baptized, for John was not yet cast into prison. There arose a questioning on the part of John's disciples with a Jew about purifying. They came to John, and said, "Rabbi, He who was with you beyond the Jordan, to whom you have borne witness, behold He baptizes and all men come to Him." John answered: "A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven. You yourselves bear me witness that I said, 'I am not the Messiah, but that I am sent before Him.'

"He that has the bride is the Bridegroom,
But the friend of the Bridegroom that stands and
hears Him,
Rejoices greatly because of the Bridegroom's voice.
This my joy therefore is made full;
He must increase, but I must decrease."†

* Cf. p. 111 and 317 seq.

† Cf. p. 179.

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II.—*First Conflict with the Jews.*—When the Lord knew that the Pharisees had heard that He was making and baptizing more disciples than John (though Jesus Himself baptized not, but His disciples), He left Judea and departed again into Galilee;* for Jesus Himself testified that a prophet has no honor in his own country. So when He came into Galilee the Galileans received Him, having seen all the things that He did in Jerusalem at the feast; for they also went up to the feast.†

After these things there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. Now there is in Jerusalem, by the sheep gate, a pool which is called Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a multitude of those who were sick, blind, halt, withered. A certain man was there, who had been thirty-eight years in his infirmity. When Jesus saw him lying, and knew that he had been now a long time, He said to him, “Would you be made whole?” The sick man answered Him, “Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool; but while I am coming another steps down before me.” Jesus said to him, “Arise, take up your bed and walk.” And straightway the man was made whole, and took up his bed and walked. Now it was the Sabbath on that day. So the Jews said unto him that was cured, “It is the Sabbath, and it is not lawful for you to take up your bed.” But he answered them, “He that made me whole said to me, ‘Take up your bed and walk.’” They asked him, “Who is the man that said to you,

* Cf. p. 84 seq.

† Cf. p. 115.

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“Take up and walk?” But he that was healed knew not who it was; for Jesus had conveyed Himself away; a multitude being in that place. Afterwards Jesus found him in the Temple, and said to him, “Behold you are made whole; sin no more, lest a worse thing befall you.” The man went away and told the Jews that it was Jesus who had made him whole.

For this cause the Jews persecuted Jesus, because He did these things on the Sabbath. But Jesus answered them, “My Father works even until now, and I work.” Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He not only broke the Sabbath, but also called God His own Father, making Himself equal with God. Jesus therefore answered:*

“I can of My ownself do nothing.
As I hear I judge, and My judgment is righteous,
Because I seek not My own will
But the will of Him that sent Me.

“He that speaks from himself, seeks his own glory;
But he that seeks the glory of Him that sent Him,
Is true, and no unrighteousness is in Him.”

“Did not Moses give you the Law? and yet none of you does the Law. Why do you seek to kill Me?” The multitude answered, “You have a demon! Who seeks to kill You?” Jesus answered: “I did one work, and you all marvel because thereof. Moses has given you circumcision, and on the Sabbath you circumcise a man; if a man receive circumcision on the Sabbath, that the Law of Moses be not broken,

*Cf. p. 101. Note 9.

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are you wroth with Me because I made a man every whit whole on the Sabbath?

Judge not according to appearance,
But judge righteous judgment."

Many of His disciples when they heard this said, "This is a hard saying; who can hear it?" But Jesus knowing in Himself that His disciples murmured at this, said to them: "Does this cause you to stumble? What then if you should behold the Son of man ascending where He was before?"

It is the spirit that quickens;
The flesh profits nothing;
The words which I have spoken to you,
They are spirit and they are life.

But there are some of you which believe not.*
On this account have I said to you,

No man can come to Me,
Except it be given him of the Father."

Upon this many of His disciples went back, and walked no more with Him. Jesus said therefore unto The Twelve, "Would you also go away?" Simon Peter answered Him: "Lord, to whom shall we go? You have the words of eternal life. And we have believed and know that you are the Holy One of God." Jesus answered him, "Did not I choose you The Twelve; and one of you is a devil."

III.—Jesus and Public Opinion.—After these things Jesus walked in Galilee; for He would

* Note 17.

THE HYPOTHESIS

not walk in Judæa, because the Jews sought to kill Him. Now the Jews' Feast of Tabernacles was at hand.* The Jews therefore sought Him at the Feast, and said, "Where is He?" And there was much murmuring among the multitudes concerning Him. Some said, "He is a good man." Others said, "Not so, but He leads the multitude astray." Yet no man spake openly of Him, for fear of the Jews. But when it was now the midst of the Feast, Jesus went up into the Temple and taught. The Jews therefore marveled, saying, "How does this man know letters, having never learned."† Some of them from Jerusalem said, "Is not this He whom they seek to kill? Lo, He speaks openly and they say nothing to Him. Can it be that the rulers know that this is the Messiah?" Others said, "Howbeit, we know this man whence He is; but when the Messiah comes no one knows whence He is." Jesus therefore cried in the Temple, teaching and saying:

"You both know Me, and know whence I am;
I am not come of Myself;
But He that sent Me is true, whom you know not.
I know Him, because I am from Him."

They sought therefore to take Him; but no man laid his hand on Him because His hour was not yet come. But of the multitude many believed on Him; and they said, "When the Messiah shall come, will He do more signs than those which this man has done?"

*Cf. p. 116.

†Cf. pp. 185-191. Note 18.

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Now on the last great day of the Feast,* Jesus stood and cried:

“If any man thirst,
Let him come to Me and drink.
From within him that believes on Me,
Shall flow rivers of living water.” †

Some of the multitude when they heard these words, said, “Of a truth this is the Prophet!” Others said, “This is the Messiah!” But some said, “What? Does the Messiah come out of Galilee? Has not the Scriptures said the Messiah comes of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village where David was?” So there arose a division in the multitude because of Him; and some of them would have taken Him, but no man laid hands on Him.

The Pharisees heard the multitude murmuring these things concerning Him, and the chief priests and the Pharisees sent officers to take Him. Jesus therefore said:

“Yet a little while am I with you,
And I go to Him that sent Me.
You shall seek Me and shall not find Me,
And where I am you can not come.”

The Jews therefore said among themselves, “Whither will this man go that we shall not find Him? Will He go to the Dispersion among the Greeks and teach the Greeks? What is this saying that He said:

“You shall seek Me and shall not find Me,
And where I am you can not come—””

The officers therefore came to the chief priests and Pharisees; and they said to them, “Why did

* Note 19.

† Editorial comment follows.

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you not bring Him?" The officers answered, "Never man so spake." The Pharisees therefore answered them, "Are you also led astray? Have any of the rulers believed on Him, or of the Pharisees?" But this multitude which is ignorant of the Law is accursed. Nicodemus* said unto them, "Does our law judge a man, except it first hear from himself, and know what he does?" They answered him, "Are you also of Galilee? Search and see that out of Galilee arises no prophet." And they went every man to his own house.

IV.—*The Great Controversy.*—Jesus went unto the Mount of Olives; and early in the morning He came again into the Temple and all the people came unto Him, and He sat down and taught them, saying:†

"I am the Light of the world.
He that follows Me shall not walk in darkness,
But shall have the light of life."

The Pharisees therefore said unto Him, "You bear witness of yourself; your witness is not true." Jesus answered: "Even if I bear witness of Myself, My witness is true; for I know whence I came and whither I go; but you know neither whence I came nor whither I go. Ye judge after the flesh; I judge no man. Yea, and in your law it is written, that the witness of two men is true.

I am He that bears witness of Myself;
And the Father who sent Me,
Bears witness of Me."

*Editorial comment.

† Cf. p. 77.

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They said therefore unto Him, “Where is your Father?” Jesus answered:

“You know neither Me nor My Father;
If you had known Me,
You would know My Father also.” *

These words spake He in the treasury, as He taught in the Temple; and no man took Him, because His hour was not yet come.

Again He said to them:

“I go away and you shall seek Me,
And should you die in your sins,
Whither I go, you can not come.”

The Jews said, “Will He kill Himself, that He says, ‘Whither I go you can not come?’” And He said to them:

You are from beneath,
I am from above;
You are of this world,
I am not of this world.

Therefore I said, you shall die in your sins; for except that you shall believe that I am He, you shall die in your sins.” They said therefore to Him, “Who are you?” Jesus answered, “Even that which I have also spoken to you from the beginning;

I have many things to speak and to judge concerning you.
Howbeit He that sent Me is true,
And the things which I heard from Him,
These speak I unto the world.”

* Cf. p. 311.

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They did not perceive that He spoke to them of the Father. Jesus therefore said:

“When you have lifted up the Son of man,
Then you shall know that I am He,
And that I do nothing of Myself,
But as the Father has taught Me, I speak.

He that sent Me is with Me;
He has not left Me alone,
For I do always the things
That are pleasing to Him.”

As He spoke these words, many believed on Him. Jesus therefore said to those Jews who had believed on Him:

“If you abide in My word,
You are truly My disciples,
And you shall know the truth,
And the truth shall make you free.”

They answered Him, “We are Abraham’s seed, and have never yet been in bondage to any man; how do you say, ‘You shall be made free?’” Jesus answered them:

“Every one that sins is the bondservant of sin;
The bondservant abides not in the house;
But the Son abides forever.
If, therefore, the Son shall make you free,
You shall be free indeed.”

I know that you are Abraham’s seed; but you seek to kill Me, because My word has not free course in you.

I speak the things which I have seen with My Father; You also do the things which you heard from your father.”

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They answered Him, "Our father is Abraham." Jesus said to them: "If you were Abraham's children, you would do the works of Abraham. But now you seek to kill Me, a man that has told you the truth which I heard from God; this did not Abraham. You do the works of your father." They said to Him, "We were not born of fornication; we have one Father, God." Jesus said to them:

"If God were your Father, you would love Me,
For I am come forth and am come from God;
Neither have I come of Myself, but He sent Me.

Why do you not understand My speech? Even because you can not hear My word.

You are of your father, the devil;
And the lusts of your father it is your will to do;
He was a murderer from the beginning.

He does not stand in the truth, for there is no truth in him;
When he speaks a lie, he speaks of his own,
For he is a liar and the father thereof.

But because I say the truth you do not believe Me; which of you convicts Me of sin? If I say the truth, why do you not believe Me?

He that is of God hears God's words;
This is the reason that you hear them not,
Because you are not of God."

The Jews answered Him, "Say we not well that You are a Samaritan and have a devil?" Jesus answered: "I have not a devil; but I honor My Father and you dishonor Me; but I

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do not seek My own glory; there is One who seeks and judges. Verily I say to you,

“If a man keep My word, he shall never see death.”*

The Jews answered Him, “Now we know You have a devil. Abraham died, and the prophets; and You say,

‘If a man keep My word, he shall never taste of death.’

Are You greater than our Father Abraham who died, and the prophets died; whom do You make Yourself?” Jesus answered:

“If I glorify Myself, My glory is nothing. It is My Father that glorifies Me, Of whom you say that He is your God.

And you have not known Him, but I know Him; and if I should say, ‘I know Him not,’ I should be like unto you, a liar; but I know Him and keep His Word.

Your Father Abraham rejoiced to see My day; He saw it and was glad.”

The Jews therefore said unto Him, “You are not yet fifty years old, and have You seen Abraham?” Jesus said unto them, “Verily, verily I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am . . .” They took up stones to cast at Him; but Jesus hid Himself and went out of the Temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by.† There arose a division again among the Jews because of these words. And many of them said, “He has a devil and is mad;

* Cf. p. 311.

† Cf. p. 90 seq., 322.

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why do you hear Him?" Others said, "These are not the sayings of one possessed of a devil. Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?"

V.—*Jesus Breaks with the Jews.*—It was the Feast of the Dedication at Jerusalem; and it was winter and Jesus was walking in the Temple in Solomon's porch. The Jews therefore came round about Him, and said to Him, "How long do You hold us in suspense? If You are the Messiah, tell us plainly." Jesus answered, "I told you and you believe not; the works which I do in My Father's name these bear witness of Me; but you believe not because you are not of My sheep.* I and the Father are one." The Jews took up stones again to stone Him. Jesus answered them, "Many good works have I showed you from My Father; for which of these works do you stone Me?" The Jews answered Him, "For a good work we stone You not; but for blasphemy; and because You, being man, make Yourself God." Jesus answered them: "Is it not written in your Law, 'I said ye are gods?' If He called them gods unto whom the Word of God came, say you of Him whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world, 'You blaspheme,' because I said, I am the Son of God?

If I do not the works of My Father, believe Me not;
But if I do, believe the works,

That you may know that the Father is in Me,
And I am in the Father."

They sought again to take Him; but He went forth out of their hand. And He went away

* Cf. p. 266 seq., 322.

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again beyond Jordan unto the place where John was at the first baptizing; and there He abode. Many came unto Him and they said, "John indeed did no sign; but all things that John said of this Man were true." And many believed on Him there.*

Therefore the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered a council, and said: "What do we? For this man does many signs; if we let Him thus alone, all men will believe on Him; and the Romans will come and take away both our place and nation." But a certain one of them, Caiaphas, being high priest that year, said to them, "You know nothing at all; nor do we take account that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not."† So from that day forth they took counsel that they might put Him to death.

Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but departed thence into the country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there He tarried with His disciples.

Now the Passover of the Jews was at hand, and many went up to Jerusalem out of the country before the Passover to purify themselves. They sought therefore for Jesus, and spake with one another as they stood in the Temple, "What do you think? That He will not come to the Feast?" Now the chief priests had given a commandment, that if any man knew where He was, he should show it,

* Cf. p. 94 seq.

† Editorial comment following.

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that they might take Him. Jesus then, six days before the Passover, came to Bethany, where Lazarus was, whom Jesus raised from the dead.* The common people heard that He was there, and they came, not for Jesus' sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also. But the chief priests took counsel that they might put Lazarus to death also; because that by reason of him, many of the Jews went away and believed on Jesus.

On the morrow a great multitude that had come to the Feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took the branches of palm trees and went forth to meet Him, and cried out, "Hosanna! Blessed is He that comes in the name of the Lord! Even the King of Israel." And Jesus having found a young ass, sat thereon, as it is written:

"Fear not, daughter of Zion;
Behold thy King comes,
Sitting on an ass's colt."†

The Pharisees therefore said among themselves, "Behold how you prevail nothing; lo! the world is gone after Him."‡ But though He had done so many signs before them, yet they believed not on Him.§ Nevertheless even of the rulers, many believed on Him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess, lest they should be put out of the synagogue; for they loved the glory that is of men more than the glory of God.¶

* Cf. p. 118.

§ Cf. p. 121. Editorial citation follows.

† Editorial comment seq.

¶ Cf. pp. 271, 324.

‡ Cf. p. 120.

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VI.—*The Upper Room.*—Now, before the Feast of the Passover, when His hour was come that He should depart out of the world to the Father, having loved His own that were in the world He loved them to the end, and knowing that the Father had given all things to His hands, and that He came forth from God and went to God,* Jesus said:

“Now is the Son of man glorified,
And God is glorified in Him,
And straightway will He glorify Him.

Little children, yet a little while am I with you. You shall seek Me, and as I said to the Jews,

‘Whither I go you can not come,’

so now I say to you.” Simon Peter said to Him, “Lord, whither do You go?” Jesus answered, “Whither I go you can not follow Me now.” Peter said, “Why can not I follow You now?” Jesus answered, “You shall follow Me afterwards.† Whither I go, you know the way.”‡ Thomas said to Him, “Lord, we know not whither You go, how can we know the way?” Jesus said to him:

“I am the way, the truth, and the life;
No one comes to the Father but by Me.
If you had known Me, you would have known
My Father also.
From henceforth you know Him and have seen
Him.”

Philip said to Him, “Lord, show us the Father and it suffices us.” Jesus said to Him: “Have I been so long time with you, and do you not

* Cf. p. 121 seq.

† Cf. p. 102 seq.

‡ Cf. p. 273.

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know Me, Philip? He that has seen Me has seen the Father; how do you say, ‘Show us the Father?’ Do you not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me?

The words which I speak to you, I speak not from Myself,
But the Father abiding in Me does His own works.
Believe Me that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me,
Or else believe Me for the very work’s sake.”*

Jude said to Him, “What is come to pass that You will manifest Yourself to us and not to the world?” Jesus answered and said to him,

A little while and you behold Me no more;
Again a little while and you shall see Me.”

Some of the disciples therefore said one to another, “What is this that He said to us,

‘A little while and you behold Me no more;
And again a little while and you shall see Me?’

and,

“Because I go to the Father?”†

They said, therefore, “We know not what He says.” Jesus perceived that they were desirous to ask Him, and He said to them: “Do you inquire among yourselves concerning this that I said? These things have I spoken to you in ‘dark sayings;’ the hour comes when I

* Cf. pp. 274, 325.

† He that believes on Me shall do the works I do;
And greater works than these shall he do,
Because I go to the Father.

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shall no more speak to you in riddles, but shall tell you plainly of the Father.*

The Father Himself loves you because you have loved Me;

And you have believed that I came forth from the Father.

I came out from the Father and am come into the world;

Again I leave the world and go unto the Father."

His disciples said: "Lo! now You speak plainly, and do not speak a riddle. Now we know that You know all things and do not need to ask any man. By this we believe that You came forth from God." Jesus said:

"Do you now believe?

Behold the hour comes, yea, is come,
When you shall be scattered every man to his
own,
And shall leave Me alone;
And yet I am not alone,
Because the Father is with Me."

When Jesus had spoken these words, He went forth with His disciples over the brook Kidron, where was a garden, into which He entered, Himself and His disciples.

VII.—Condemnation and Death of Jesus.—Now Judas also, who betrayed Him, knew the place, for Jesus oftentimes resorted thither with His disciples. Judas therefore having received the band, and officers from the chief priests and the Pharisees, came thither with lanterns and torches and weapons. Jesus therefore

* Cf. p. 275.

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knowing all things that were coming upon Him, went forth, and said to them, "Whom do you seek?" They answered Him, "Jesus of Nazareth." Jesus said to them, "I am He." Judas also who betrayed Him was standing with them; when therefore He said to them, "I am He," they went backward and fell to the ground. Again therefore He asked them, "Whom do you seek?" And they said, "Jesus of Nazareth." Jesus answered, "I told you that I am He; if therefore you seek Me, let these go their way."* So the band and the chief captain and the officers of the Jews seized Jesus and bound Him, and led Him to Annas first, for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, who was high priest that year. Annas therefore sent Him bound to Caiaphas. Now Caiaphas was he that gave counsel to the Jews, that it was expedient that one man should die for the people.† The high priest therefore asked Jesus of His disciples, and of His teaching. Jesus answered him: "I have spoken openly to the world. I ever taught in the synagogues, and in the Temple where all the Jews come together; and in secret spake I nothing. Why do you ask Me? ask them who heard Me what I spoke to them. Behold these know the things which I said." And when He had said this, one of the officers standing by struck Jesus with the hand, saying, "Do You answer the high priest so?" Jesus answered him, "If I have spoken evil bear witness to the evil; but if well, why do you smite Me?"

They led Jesus therefore from Caiaphas

* Editorial comment omit.

† Cf. p. 104.

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into the Pretorium; it was early and they themselves entered not into the Pretorium, that they might not be defiled, but might eat the Passover. Pilate went out to them and said, "What accusation do you bring against this Man?" They answered, "If this Man were not an evil doer, we should not have delivered Him to you." Pilate said, "Take Him yourselves and judge Him according to your Law." The Jews said to him, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death."* Pilate therefore entered again into the Pretorium, and called Jesus and said to Him, "Are You the King of the Jews?" Jesus answered, "Do you say this of yourself or did others tell it to you concerning Me?" Pilate answered, "Am I a Jew? Your own nation and the chief priests delivered You to me. What have You done?" Jesus answered:

"My Kingdom is not of this world;
If My Kingdom were of this world,
Then would My servants fight,
That I should not be delivered to the Jews;
But now is My Kingdom not from thence."

Pilate said to Him, "Are You then a King?" Jesus answered: "You say that I am a King.

To this end have I been born,
And to this end am I come into the world,
That I should bear witness unto the truth;
Every one that is of the truth, hears My voice."

Pilate said unto Him, "What is truth?" And when he had said this he went out to the Jews

*Editorial comment omit.

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again, and said to them, "I find no crime in Him. But you have a custom that I should release unto you one at the Passover; will you therefore that I release to you the King of the Jews?" They cried out again, "Not this Man, but Barabbas." Now Barabbas was a robber.

Then Pilate took Jesus, and scourged Him. And the soldiers platted a crown of thorns and put it on His head, and arrayed Him in a purple garment; and they came to Him and said, "Hail king of the Jews!" and they struck Him with their hands. Pilate went out again, and said to them, "Behold I bring Him out to you, that you may know that I find no crime in Him." Jesus therefore came out, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple garment. And he said to them, "Behold the Man!" When the chief priests and officers saw Him, they cried out, "Crucify Him! Crucify Him!" Pilate said to them, "Take Him yourselves and crucify Him; for I find no fault in Him." The Jews answered him, "We have a law; and by that law He ought to die, because He made Himself the Son of God." When Pilate heard this saying he was the more afraid; and he entered again into the Pretorium, and said to Jesus, "Whence are You?" But Jesus gave him no answer. Pilate therefore said to Him, "Do You not speak to me? Do You not know that I have power to release You and I have power to crucify You?" Jesus answered him:

"You would have no power against Me,
Except it were given you from above;
Therefore he has the greater sin
Who delivered Me unto you."

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Upon this Pilate sought to release Him; but the Jews cried out, "If you release this Man, you are not Cæsar's friend. Every one who makes himself a king speaks against Cæsar." When Pilate heard these words, he brought Jesus out, and sat down on the judgment seat, at a place called the "Pavement." Now it was the preparation of the Passover; it was about the sixth hour. And he said to the Jews, "Behold your King!" They cried out, "Away with Him! away with Him! Crucify Him!" Pilate said unto them, "Shall I crucify your King?" The chief priests answered, "We have no king but Cæsar." Then therefore he delivered Him unto them to be crucified.

They took Jesus therefore; and He went out bearing His cross for Himself, to the place called "The Place of the Skull," where they crucified Him, and with Him, two others, one on either side and Jesus in the midst. Pilate also wrote a title, and put it on the cross; and there was written, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews." This title therefore read many of the Jews; for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city; and it was written in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. The chief priests of the Jews therefore said to Pilate, "Write not the 'King of the Jews,' but that He said, 'I am the King of the Jews.'" Pilate answered, "What I have written, I have written."

When the soldiers had crucified Jesus, they took His garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also the coat. Now the coat was without seam, woven from the

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top throughout. They said therefore one to another, "Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be." That the Scripture might be fulfilled, which says,

"They parted My garments among them,
And upon My vesture they cast lots."

These things therefore the soldiers did.

But there was standing by the cross of Jesus, His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleopas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus saw His mother, and the disciple standing by whom He loved, He said to His mother, "Woman, behold your son." Then said He to the disciple, "Behold your mother!" From that hour the disciple took her to his own home.

After these things, Jesus knowing that all things were now finished, that the Scripture might be accomplished, said, "I thirst." There was set there a vessel full of vinegar; so they put a sponge full of vinegar upon hyssop, and brought it to His mouth. When therefore Jesus had received the vinegar, He said, "It is finished!" and He bowed His head and gave up His spirit.

The Jews therefore, because it was the Preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath (for the day of that Sabbath was a high day), asked of Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. The soldiers therefore came and broke the legs of the first; and of the other that was crucified with Him; but when

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they came to Jesus and saw that He was dead already, they broke not His legs. Howbeit, one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side, and straightway there came out blood and water.* And after these things, Joseph of Arimathæa, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, asked of Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus; and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore and took away His body. And there came also Nicodemus,† bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds. So they took the body of Jesus and bound it in linen cloths with the spices, as the custom of the Jews is to bury. Now in the place where He was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new tomb, wherein was never man yet laid. There, then, because of the Jews Preparation (for the tomb was nigh at hand), they laid Jesus.

VIII.—*The Risen Jesus.*—Now, on the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene early, while it was yet dark, to the tomb, and saw the stone taken away from the tomb. She ran therefore and came to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and said to them, “They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we know not where they have laid Him.” Peter therefore went forth, and the other disciple, and they went toward the tomb; and they ran both together; and the other disciple outran Peter and came first to the tomb, and stooping and looking in, he saw the linen cloths lying, yet entered he not in.

*Editorial comment omit.

†Editorial comment.

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Simon Peter also came following him, and entered into the tomb; and he beheld the linen cloths lying, and the napkin that was about his head not lying with the linen cloths, but rolled in a place by itself. Then entered in the other disciple also, who came first to the tomb; and he saw and believed.* So the disciples went away again to their own home.

But Mary was standing without the tomb weeping; so as she wept, she stooped and looked into the tomb, and she beheld two angels in white sitting, one at the head and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. And they said to her, "Woman, why do you weep?" She said to them, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him." When she had thus said, she turned herself back, and beheld Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus said to her, "Woman, why do you weep? Whom do you seek?" She, supposing Him to be the gardener, said to Him, "Sir, if you have borne Him hence, tell me where you have laid Him, and I will take Him away." Jesus said to her, "Mary!" She turned herself and said to Him, "Master!" Jesus said to her, "Touch Me not; for I am not yet ascended unto the Father; but go to My brethren, and say to them I ascend to My Father and your Father, and to My God and your God." Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples, "I have seen the Lord!" and that He had said these things to her.

When therefore it was evening on that day,

* Editorial comment omit.

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the first of the week, and when the doors were shut where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in the midst, and said to them, "Peace unto you!" And when He had said this He showed them His hands and His side. The disciples therefore were glad when they saw the Lord. Jesus therefore said to them again, "Peace to you! As the Father has sent Me, even so send I you." And when He had said this, He breathed on them and said to them, "Receive you the Holy Spirit; whosesoever sins you forgive, they are forgiven them; and whosesoever you retain, they are retained."

But Thomas, one of The Twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came. The other disciples said to him, "We have seen the Lord." But he said to them, "Except I shall see in His hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into His side, I will not believe." And after eight days, again His disciples were within and Thomas with them. Jesus came, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst of them, and said, "Peace to you!" Then said He to Thomas, "Reach hither your finger and see My hands; and reach your hand, and put it into My side; and be not faithless, but believing." Thomas answered and said to Him, "My Lord and my God!" Jesus said to him, "Because you have seen Me, you have believed; blessed are they who have not seen and have believed." This is now the third time that Jesus was manifested to the disciples after that He was risen from the dead.

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Many other signs Jesus did in the presence of His disciples, which are not written in this book; but these are written that you might believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God; and that believing you might have life in His name.

III

HYPOTHESIS OF GOSPEL ORIGINS

The argument has now reached the stage when a positive construction of Gospel Origins must be essayed. Analysis is in itself merely preliminary. The theory must be more than implicit in the data; it requires to be sharply defined, so that the whole array of difficulties involved can be brought to bear upon it. This is particularly the case where a new hypothesis challenges the traditions and accepted canons, as does the one now to be presented.

Jesus of Nazareth is conceived as a Teacher with a definite consciousness of His mission. He came to elaborate and fulfill and also to simplify the Law and the Prophets. He was more than a wandering philosopher, who gave ethical inspiration to the folk who chose to listen. He purposed to be heard and understood. He definitely sought to perpetuate His Gospel and to secure the widest possible diffusion. He challenged the hierarchy of His time in a series of bold and heart-stirring encounters. More than a visionary, He planned with ex-

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traordinary acumen, the details of His campaigns. Almost He swept to a victory, which might have proven as crucial a test of His moral power as did the supreme renunciations of His martyrdom. Either way, He would have had an experience which searched to the marrow the reality of His spiritual claims.

In the definite carrying out of these carefully conceived plans, Jesus drew to Himself from the number of His disciples, a few men who were chosen, not for their superior loyalty, but for their adaptation for the mission He had in mind for them. Beyond the circle of The Twelve was a larger discipleship, no whit inferior in its love and devotion, and indeed in many respects more sympathetic and appreciative. The Twelve were chosen to be recipients of His Gospel that they might with intelligence transmit it to others. So much is on the surface. It is also clear that they were to preach definite messages, rather than their own ethical impressions. They were transmitters, and not originators. For them, as for the public groups whom He addressed, Jesus formulated His teaching. He must needs choose an oral form, which would preserve its integrity, and withstand as far as possible the inevitable tendency to garble the spoken word. Hence He cast His teaching into the form of Hebrew verse. But this was more than a pedagogic necessity; it

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was the natural expression of His intellect. He was fundamentally a poet; imagery came at His call; He thought in similes; He perceived poetry to be the best expression of the highest truth. So for His own self-expression, as well as the exigencies of His plan, He resorted to this unique method of philosophical presentation.

Having composed His ethical teaching with this exactitude, He insisted upon its being fixed in the mind of His disciples. It was their business during the days of their common traveling to familiarize themselves with His message. Every appreciation which led them to follow Him, made this a glad service on their part. They felt that He had "the Logia of eternal life." It was not a perfunctory response that would issue only in vague impressions and inadequate recollections. So far as the human mind was capable of becoming a medium for exact reproduction of another's thought, they accepted the privilege and responsibility.

For the most part, this teaching of Jesus referred to ethical and urgent daily problems. It was practical in its bearing upon individual religious life. It was meant to be of actual service to living men. So His method of public proclamation was simple. Commonly before a gathering of auditors He would recite His Logion or Parable, and thus challenge them to

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inquiries, so that the Logia would become the basis for more extended comment, which might in cases become affixed to the Oracle itself. So every Oracle would have a definite historic setting. Sometimes, indeed, because of its use on more than one notable occasion, there might be a variety of reminiscences centering upon the same utterances. Inevitably also the same theme would grow in His mind, and a simple passage become the nucleus for more exquisite poems, as is the case with the "lost sheep," and kindred utterances. The problem of His literary method, however, belongs to quite another department of analysis. Suffice it to say that without the recognition of the definite poetical forms and their proper setting, we can come to no adequate appreciation of His literary genius.

In such a fashion did Jesus develop a body of ethical teaching in poetic form; and in such a fashion did the disciples make it their own. In other words, by the best oral methods devisable Jesus published His Gospel. It had definite limits in the minds of His disciples, which served to mark it off from their own reflections and from their own reminiscences. How early this became reduced to writing, whether during the actual ministry of Jesus, or immediately thereafter, it is impossible to say. But there is no flight of imagination in supposing that Matthew, accustomed from his business to get-

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ting things down on paper, should have transferred the habits of his life to the new occupation in which he was now engaged. Indeed, the detail with which Jesus planned other affairs might warrant the assumption that it was with this very service in mind that He called the Publican into intimate discipleship.

There exists beyond question a collection of Logia attributed to Jesus and associated with the name of Matthew. These Logia have so maintained their form of Hebrew verse as to be their own best attestation of their accuracy. For all practical purposes they are a transcript of the teaching which Jesus formulated with such exquisite care and gave to His disciples as His best legacy. They constitute His public ethical doctrine.

But there was much which Jesus had to say that did not fairly belong to the doctrine to be passed from man to man. There were problems centering in His own personality; there were others arising from His mission and claims; there were intimacies of His own soul. These things challenged poetic expression; in reality, they required it. His deepest instincts of self-expression found utterance in such wise. He was fundamentally the poet, and in the inevitable self-interpretation, which is the essence of poetry, He found a theme not adapted to the common mind. It was not for Him to cast His

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pearls before swine. Only to His disciples in intimate mood could some of these things be said; and indeed, much of this was beyond the perception of the more material minds among them. At times, in moments of exalted response to the antagonism of the world, He made assertions in the loftiest strains of poetic self-revelation; but this was only occasional, and a source of mystery to His auditors. For the most part, the minds which were nearest akin to His would be the recipients of these treasures of His heart.

Certain it is that the collection of these intimate and deeper revelations which are attributed to Him have by long tradition been associated with the name of that disciple who stood in the most intimate relation to the Master, and who, in his after life, most fully manifested the qualities of heart and life which were most appreciated by the great Teacher. The situation to become intelligible only requires the assumption that from the first, either by instinct, or appointment, or appreciation, John became the repository of these deep and elemental Oracles. Some were cherished by him in secret and found posthumous publication when the general attitude of the disciples had become such as would enable their appreciation. But the accuracy with which the verse forms have been preserved, is the attestation of the ac-

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tuality of such a collection of Oracles. Subsequent recollections may have enriched it, but the great body of these utterances would have been too sacred a thing for any unholy tampering. The significant thing is this: That after the resurrection the attitude of the disciples toward Jesus is that which pertains to the Master of the Johannine Oracles rather than the Rabbi of the Matthaean Logia. It is difficult to understand how they were helped to this changed attitude, except under the influence of the self-revelations contained in these Oracles. The force of the posthumous publication of such declarations must have been tremendous; it would have clarified the confusion and made the new faith a matter for triumphant declaration. The mere assurance of the resurrection would not suffice; that in itself differed but little, at least in its necessary implications, from other resurrections which the Master had superinduced. The thing that stands out in the new attitude is the recognition of the divine Lordship of Jesus. It is this which is not stressed in the Matthaean Logia, not recognized during the months of companionship with Jesus, but which becomes the dominant note of the new faith.

Thus Jesus left to His disciples much besides the precious memories of intimate association, the heroic deeds He wrought, the great program

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for world conquest, and the stupendous fact of His resurrection. He left also definite Logia of His ethical message and wondrously expressed Oracles of self-revelation. Christianity in its very inception was literary. The disciples took their pens in hand as naturally as they stood upon the rostrum. It was not to mere crude narrative that they were impelled, but to literary expression of an unusual order. They were the followers of a great literary Master, and the force of His example, as well as the rich profit which came to them, were suggestive of the new method of propaganda.

The situation, as it rapidly developed, required the formation of definite teaching. It was a simple matter to give the message of Jesus to new disciples. It was inevitable that they should embody in their attitude of worship the new and profound appreciation of the character and person of Jesus. Peter was the inevitable spokesman of the one, John the exquisite interpreter of the other. But as they gathered to themselves new disciples, the demand arose for facts concerning the life of the Master. Imagination required data upon which to build. What manner of man was Jesus? How did He go about among men? Where He was the theme of constant conversation, something authoritative was necessary. How did it come about that the Messiah was done

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to death by the Jews? The story of the conflict with the hierarchy was one of perennial interest. New pilgrims were coming up with the seasons, and to them the story required telling. Thus the tendencies of the time and situation found expression in the development of a group of incidents reflecting the ministry of Jesus in a miscellaneous way, and in a series of explanations of the great conflict with the hierarchy. The themes were separate, and a separate treatment was inevitable. To the Church in Jerusalem, the Jerusalem theme would remain of supreme import.

It so happens then that there survives a narrative which details this controversy from its inception, and moves with steady and dramatic unfolding to the climax of the crucifixion, and the denouement of the resurrection. The unity of this writing is remarkable, and its literary quality of a high order. Its mode of treatment and the range of questions treated make it of paramount interest to a Church environed as were the Christians before the Dispersion. Its note of authority and its occasional wealth of detail relate it to an eye witness. This manuscript is attributed by those who afterwards made editorial use of it to none other than the Apostle John. It is for these general reasons to be given the distinctive name of "The Jerusalem Gospel," and tentatively

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attributed to the apostle, and dated in Jerusalem before the Dispersion, that is as early as 33 or 34 A. D.

It is to be conceived that the Dispersion marked a new era in the literary development of the Gospels. It would create a demand for Gospel fragments. These began to be written in considerable numbers, and indeed, the writers came to a definite recognition as a special kind of Church workers. Commonly, the merest fragment would suffice. It was at once the nature of souvenir and a precious legacy. Narratives would flow together in other instances, and groups and collections be formed. Some elements of falsity would develop; legend would spring up. At the same time Christian poetry was having a vogue; hymns and spiritual songs were not uncommon, sometimes reaching the point of imaginative genius. The initial literary impulse which the Master had given was accelerated by the actual value of these productions, a value greatly enhanced by the scattering of the worshipers.

How early these reminiscences were reduced to order, is a fine problem of analysis. But the group which has been denominated "The Caper-naum Document," must have been aggregated at a comparatively early period. It may have been a naïve response to the over-emphasis on the Jerusalem ministry as presented in the earli-

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est Christian narrative. Its identity, however, is clear, and it became the prototype of a great class of Gospels. The evils resulting from miscellaneous promulgation of the anecdotal life of the Master were evident. The matter required some authoritative presentation. It took the form of a narrative that showed the connection of Jesus with The Twelve. The distinctive characteristic of the document, properly called the Ur-Marcus, is that it traces this relation. This is the explanation of its divergence from the Jerusalem narrative. The Twelve were not called to personal discipleship until after the early Judean ministry had ceased and Jesus entered upon the second phase of His ministry. Other events in the Jerusalem activity have been placed by Dr. Briggs* in the interval occupied by the mission journey of the disciples. It is remarkable indeed how, with the proper discrimination of the Jerusalem Gospel from the later accretions, all chronological difficulties as between John and the Synoptics disappear. The Ur-Marcus is thus the narrative of the apostolate. It would, by virtue of this fact, become the authorized presentation of the ministry of Jesus. Among the Gentile Churches it would have circulation to the practical exclusion of the Jerusalem Gospel, which

**New Light on the Life of Jesus*, p. 40 seq.

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would be scarcely known by name. The union of the Ur-Marcus with the Capernaum document would be an early achievement, but diversely accomplished. Some gifted editor undertook the compilation of the two with the Logia of Matthew, and added such interpretative notes as were deemed helpful. Whether at this time or subsequently the infancy record was added is a matter of great critical difficulty, but fortunately not of primary importance.

The need for the adequate presentation of the Master's Logia led to an edition which gave them historical setting and associated with them Parables and Sayings authenticated by traditions and in some cases preserved with marvelous accuracy. This book had a vogue of its own, and perhaps in quarters a popularity greater than the Logia themselves. The Logia have suffered from verbal forgetfulness and intentional improvement. Done into Greek with a freedom of literary grace, they none the less lost much of the original Hebraic form, which is the best credential of complete accuracy.

By the sixth decade of the century, the great body of Christians were supplied with some fragments of the Gospel story in manuscript. The production of these leaflets had become a recognized means of spreading the Gospel. It would seem, indeed, that Christian missionaries have in all centuries made use of such tracts.

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The brief epistles are only another form of this mode of propaganda. The usefulness of these Gospel memoranda is well attested by the fact that the writers of such fragments were distinctly recognized as a class of workers endowed with special gifts. Some among the Christians were thus called to be “evangelists.” At the first the tracts were but leaflets, the writing out of some distinct story or saying. Afterwards, by gradual literary processes, the stories became combined and were elaborated with more or less truth and skill. There are clearly discernible at least two streams of development—the one issuing in the Lukan record, the other being a more highly developed and independent form, which circulated chiefly in connection with the Jerusalem cycle, and whose main contributions were lodged finally in the accretions which make the bulk of the extraneous matter of the present Johannine Gospel. There is indeed reason to presume a single authorship for this last group, and to attribute it to Philip, the evangelist of Cesarea. In any event, the more developed forms belong to the latter part of the century.

The same development accounts also for the infancy Gospels. Their literary structure and graces are evidently of the composite order, and quite distinct from the simple and sometimes naïve recital of the earlier tracts. They have recourse to the Hebrew verse forms,

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and contain beautiful poems, which have entranced the ages and become a part of the highest ritual of worship. It is the flowering of the literary instinct which had its inception in the genius and example of Jesus.

Obviously, all this activity resulted in a certain literary confusion, which required the ordering of some master. It is at this juncture that Luke felt the impulse to sum up his conception of the Gospel story. His own introductory words are the best characterization of the situation:

"Many attempts have already been made to draw up an account of those matters that are accepted as true among us, exactly as they have been handed down to us by those who from the very first were eye witnesses and afterwards became the bearers of the message. I, also, having investigated all these matters with great care from the beginning, have resolved to write a connected history of them for you. In this way you will be able to satisfy yourself of the accuracy of the story which you have heard from the lips of others."*

So then the Evangelist Luke essays a combination of the various sources at his command, and very naturally uses as the basis the Narrative of The Twelve. He writes, however, with great freedom, and relies upon his memory. So doing, he proceeds to effect combinations and modifications which are the result of oral accretion and attrition. Nothing is more singular than the appearance of exact verbal

*Twentieth Century New Testament.

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reproduction in the same paragraph with the strangest variation. Oral reproduction in the course of years plays precisely such pranks. It may indeed have been that he worked from a copy of the Narrative of The Twelve which had been reproduced from memory, and that he himself was faithful to its pages. But by such composite processes he produced a book which combined the valuable material circulating among the Gentile Churches. He has served as interpreter and elaborator. By virtue of his view of the historian's function, he has sought also to weave the isolated data into a continuous narrative, but with only partial success. His book, alike in its dedication, in its scheme of presentation, and in its language, appeals to the better literary instinct, and would bid for a place in the libraries of men of culture. It was intentionally to supersede the previous partial and somewhat ruder and archaic literary productions. It represents the Christianity of the end of the century.

Beginning with the dispersion arising from the persecution of Saul of Tarsus, and continuing through the century there had been a division of Christianity. It came to its formal recognition at the council in Jerusalem. The two streams separated widely, and each produced its own literature, with but the occasional exchange of ideas. The great leader of Gentile

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Christianity, partly by instinct and partly by policy, emphasized this separateness. Each literary development would be subject to the same formative influences, so far as they were due to the age. In each appeared the same kinds of literature. But after a generation had passed, there began to be evidences of the flowing together of these two streams. The destruction of Jerusalem rendered this inevitable, for the Christianity which centered there became in turn a Christianity of the Dispersion. Toward the end of the century, the supervision of the Churches in Asia Minor seems to have fallen upon one who had been closely identified with the development of the Jerusalem Church and of the literature which grew up about it. The coming of "John" to this position involved also the bringing into prominence the Gospel as the apostle of that name had presented it, and the wider circulation of the tracts which had had vogue in the Jerusalem circles. This consisted of the Oracles of Jesus which John had mediated to the early Church, and which had influenced Gentile Christianity more, as they had been embodied in the thought of the Church, than as a separate literary document. Indeed, these teachings had from the first been esoteric, more to be shared with the leaders than to be the nurture of the rank and file. Now the Oracles themselves emerged into a

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larger usefulness. Also the Jerusalem Gospel, as composed by the apostle for the benefit of the early Church, subsided in its vogue, as the center of interest shifted from Jerusalem, and received its authorization from the Narrative of The Twelve. The Jerusalem document now first became available for the Church general. In addition to these important contributions, came the cycle of memoranda and developed story which pertained to the other development of the Church. How profoundly this new infusion affected life and thought, is attested by the almost instant appearance in the early patristic literature of the nobler conceptions of the nature of Jesus.

It remained, however, for some adequate mind to do for these literary survivals what Luke had already done for the data at hand in his circle. Indeed, the example of Luke made this inevitable. Accordingly, some of this inner circle took the various elements and compounded them into a single narrative to which with the highest propriety the name of the Apostle John was attached. The process of composition is simple. The Jerusalem narrative is basic, and wherever opportunity of topic seemed to offer, the Oracles of Jesus were distributed, the bulk of them being massed in the last interview with the disciples, for sheer lack of further place in which to dispose of the

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material. The various tractate stories also were then distributed, with some simple regard for geography, and yet with more concern for the topical method. The "joining" was at times affected by special comment; at others it was left exposed with a naïve disregard for the context. The strong unity and movement of the basic narrative sufficiently absorbed these faults, and for a time gave rise to the impression of great literary completeness. It is possible that these changes were wrought from Aramaean manuscripts, and that the Gospel in this final form made its first appearance in Greek. The date of this achievement is scarcely a matter for conjecture. It pertains to the beginning of the new century, and practically marks the close of the apostolic Gospel cycle.

Such, in broad outline, is the theory of Gospel origins which arises upon the contemplation of the data brought to light by an analysis centering in a recognition of the parallels of the teaching of Jesus. The analysis does not arise from theological bias, but from literary method. This synthesis has the merit at least of enabling a clear differentiation of the component parts of the Gospels and the assigning to each of a definite period for its development. The chronology of the origins as thus tentatively set forth, may be exhibited:

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF GOSPEL ORIGINS.

A. D. 27.—The Logia and Parables of Jesus.
28.—The Oracles of Jesus (mediate through John).
30.—The Jerusalem Gospel (authorship of John).
27–33.—Growth of Oral narrative.
33–38.—The Capernaum Document.
35.—The Narrative of The Twelve (official record). The Ur-Marcus.
40–45.—Circulation of Numerous Tractates.
46.—Gospel of Matthew (combined from the Logia, Capernaum Document, and the Narrative of The Twelve).
50.—The Lukan Sourcee (a version of Logia and parables, with specific setting).
50–60.—Development of elaborate incidents in literary form. The Infancy Gospels.
70.—Gospel of Luke (the re-writing of data at hand).
90–100.—The Emergence of John's Writings.
The Completion by Editorial Processes of the Gospel of John.

IV

THE ARGUMENT IN OUTLINE

THE hypothesis of the literary mastership of Jesus, as here presented, escapes, by the form of its statement, many of the difficulties which have ordinarily confronted any thesis of the origin of the Gospel of John. There is much gain from the fact that a unified Gospel is denied. This at once invalidates a syllogism counted heretofore of considerable force.

The Gospel of John is a literary unit;
Portions of the Gospel are of late date:
Therefore the Gospel is of a late date.

But in view of the data as here presented, the minor premise can be freely granted, and yet the conclusion denied. It would be incumbent upon the advocates of a late date either to reject, by proper showing of reason, the literary analysis which has been made, or else to show in a similar fashion that the narrative portion shows unmistakable evidence of late influences.

The usual array of evidences for the later influences is well summarized by a late writer*

* Moffatt. Intro. N. T.

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who shows extraordinary familiarity with the literature of the subject. These influences are divided by him into three classes:

- a*—Evidences of Philonism;
- b*—Evidences of Paulinism;
- c*—Evidences of Stoicism.

To these is added an analysis of the relation to the Synoptics, tending to show a subsequent writing of the Johannine Gospel.

The usual argument for the Philonic influence stresses the introduction to the Gospel. The relationship of the two is indeed marked. The Gospel is not dependent upon the Alexandrian system for its essence, but it none the less makes happy use of phrases popularized in that school of thought, howbeit it charges them with a different meaning. The Logos idea must be regarded as a current conception of philosophy, which would appeal to Christian thinkers when they essayed an independent interpretation of the data of their faith. This implies a comparatively late date. It appears, however, that the introduction is a separable production, having a completeness and definite form of its own. It makes use of Hebrew verse forms and constitutes a philosophical statement of the Christian faith. Once the statement is presented with due regard for its literary structure and allowance for interpretative comment, it is easily separated from the Gospel

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and seen to be in the nature of a “Credo,” or confession.

In Beginning was the Logos,
And the Logos was with God;
 All things were made by Him,
 And without Him, nothing was made.

All that was made was life in Him,
And the life was the light of men;
 The light shined in darkness,
 And the darkness comprehended it not.

He came unto His own,
But His own received Him not;
 But as many as received Him,
 To them He gave power to become sons of
 God.

The Logos was made flesh and dwelt among us;
And we beheld His glory, full of grace and truth.
 Of His fullness have all we received,
 And grace for grace;

For the Law was given by Moses;
Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.
 No man has seen God at any time;
 The only begotten Son has declared Him.

The power and beauty of such a confession is beyond dispute. Its aptness would give it currency in any philosophical community. This currency would lead to its elaboration by comment, and to the amplification of some of its significant terms. Precisely this has actually occurred, and these additions being incorporated into the text have secured doctrinal explicitness at the cost of literary beauty.

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These very considerations are reasons why in presenting in Greek dress the Gospel of John, use should be made of this creed as an introduction. The editor has been skillful in fusing the creed with the opening words of the narrative, yet has not succeeded wholly in obscuring the juncture. The narrative can be presented in its probable original form. When so restored, it reads as follows:

“There was a man, sent from God, whose name was John. He came for a witness, that he might bear witness of the Light, that all men might believe through him. He was not the Light, but came that he might bear witness of the Light. There was the true Light, which lights every man coming into the world. John bear witness of Him and cried, saying, ‘This was He of whom I said,

He that comes after me
Is come before me,
For He was before me.’

And this is the witness of John, when the Jews sent unto him from Jerusalem, priests and Levites, to ask him, ‘Who art thou?’ And he confessed and denied not; and he confessed, ‘I am not the Christ.’”

The unity of this passage, its own adequacy as an introduction to the Gospel narrative, its prose form in the midst of a poetical passage, all argue the original separateness of the creed and the verses here quoted. The details of the matter admit of a sustaining exposition. But it suffices for the present to suggest a tenable hypothesis.

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Philonism is thought also to be shown in the use of allegories and hyper-significant phrases and passages. The most significant of these are the stories of the Samaritan woman, and of the controversy centering in the Bread of Life. The symbolical interpretation of these passages may be conceded, though, as a matter of fact, the whole issue is still debatable. But these passages have been, on literary ground, excised from the narrative and esteemed of a later date. Of the numerous citations of phrases as being Philonic in character, four-fifths of the references are to excised passages, while the nature of the others is such that they can only be esteemed Philonic, when that thesis has been previously established. That is to say, the more natural significance must first be set aside.

Thus, the thesis of the Jerusalem Gospel as the ground work of the Gospel, escapes the force of the Philonic argument. It is not even under the necessity of establishing its freedom from such influences, for the utmost now claimed by advocates of this interpretation is beside the mark as applied to the narrative proper.

The argument from Paulinism is to be met in quite another fashion. The comparison of views between the Johannine Gospel and the Pauline teaching shows that the parallel is mainly with the Oracles attributed to Jesus.

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Thus the narrative itself is largely free from the comparison. Whatever force the Pauline argument possesses applies in but the mildest fashion to the portion from the pen of John. So far as the Oracles are concerned, the issue may fairly be changed. Is it not possible that the high Christology of Paul was received from the Jerusalem Church? Certainly his own vision of Christ is but the counterpart of the vision which Stephen had at his death. The real problem is to explain the divine Christology which took possession of the apostolic mind. To esteem Jesus as a great Teacher, as the Messiah even, was another and lesser thing from worshiping Him as divine. Even the resurrection does not warrant such a transformation of attitude. But to conceive that passages of the Master's teaching were brought to their attention, teaching privately given and only appreciated in the light of events, is to understand how the new mental attitude was developed. Certain it is that the actual attitude of the Church is entirely consonant with the "Oracles." These utterances mark no advance over the almost immediate recognition of the Church of their Lord's divinity. That this attitude is revealed by custom and by chance phrase, rather than by explicit theological statement, is no argument against its reality. Formal theology has always been but the justifi-

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cation of previously accepted conclusions. Thus the argument from Paulinism is a two-edged weapon that, to say the least, cuts both ways. The positive argument for the authenticity of the Oracles requires a further putting. It is enough to indicate that the argument from Paulinism is indecisive, and that the early date of the Jerusalem narrative is not affected thereby.

In a similar way, the traces of Stoicism which have been discerned in the Gospel are mainly in evidence in those portions whose later date is conceded and indeed required by the evidence here presented. They have value as determining the date when the completed Gospel was given to the Church.

Thus it is seen that the present thesis escapes from some of the difficulties which have been most serious in the minds of those who undertook to establish a Johannine authorship for the entire Gospel. The elaborate tissue of evidence which has been developed in rebuttal is ruled out as irrelevant.

The second main issue is much more complicated. The relation of the Johannine Gospel to the other three is an intricate theme. On the present hypothesis it divides itself into two issues. Certain portions of the Johannine Gospel cover the same ground as is covered by the synoptics. It was noted in passing that a

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number of the excised incidents are variant versions of the same incident related by one or another of the Synoptics. This is particularly true of the Feeding of the Thousands, and some of the associated items. In such cases there may have been interrelations in the development of the story. But inasmuch as all such passages are to be regarded as of a later date, there is no difficulty in allowing them to have been influenced by the other versions, especially while the prototypes of these were still in an oral form.

When the Jerusalem narrative is considered by itself, the other issue becomes emphasized. How is it that a document of such early date so little influenced the Synoptic? The question thus raised is a vital one, which requires an explicit answer. Upon the adequacy of this answer will depend in large measure the validity of the present theory. Certain preliminary considerations are helpful.

The chronological contrast disappears in the light of the present analysis. This is because the various incidents which have given rise to the so-called Johannine chronology are seen to be inserted by the compiler for topical reasons, and are therefore devoid of chronological authority. When we deal with the Jerusalem Gospel alone, the data fits in a remarkable way the scheme as indicated by the Synoptics. This

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reconciliation of the conflicting claims is precisely in accord with the conclusions reached by other scholars on other grounds. It is at once an answer to the objection of discord between John and the other authorities, and a positive argument for the authenticity of the text.

It deserves therefore a larger setting. The usual scheme for chronological analysis deals with the great Jewish feasts. The crowds which thronged the Baptist may be conceived to have been in part those in attendance upon the great Passover Feast. This would have brought the little band of Galilean fishermen into contact with the great Preacher. It marks in a general way the introduction of Jesus to the world. Thereafter follows the wilderness sojourn, and the beginnings of the Judæan ministry, including attendance at the Feast of the Tabernacles some six months later. The affirmation of the Jerusalem Gospel agrees perfectly with the intimation of the Synoptics as to the fact of such an early ministry.

Certain drastic events led Jesus to leave Judæa and pass to Galilee. These events are variously, but not divergently, stated in the several accounts. Coming to Galilee, He calls the disciples to a permanent following of Himself, and begins to build the apostolate. Then follows the active ministry in Galilee, which bulks so largely in the Synoptic account.

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When the season of the Passover again arrives, we may assume that Jesus, with His disciples, went up to Jerusalem. The Synoptics do not state such a journey, but the obvious custom of the times emphasizes the clear statement of the Jerusalem narrative. This visit was at best brief, and characterized by but a few incidents. Hence it is little more than an interlude in the Galilean ministry.

The Galilean ministry presently changed its form. The Twelve had become sufficiently informed as to the Master's thought and purpose to be intrusted with some campaigning of their own. Accordingly He sends them forth to tour Galilee. The careful instructions which He gives them and the general character of the enterprise, as well as the report asked for upon their return, indicate the lapse of a considerable period. During this interval* there is time for the later Judæan ministry, which centers principally in the great feasts. So there is the private journey of Jesus, accompanied by two of His disciples, the sons of Zebedee, to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. The immediate work in Jerusalem may have been somewhat extended, or it may have been broken by the ministry in Peræa, of which Luke gives an account, and which is neglected by the accounts in Matthew and Mark. At all

* Cf. *New Light on the Life of Jesus*. Dr. C. A. Briggs, p. 40 seq.

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events, Jesus is in Jerusalem for the Feast of Dedication in December. The Jerusalem authorities are aroused to action, and when, from His temporary place of retirement beyond Jordan, come reports of His growing favor, they pass definite edicts of outlawry against Him.

Jesus sweeps northward to rejoin His disciples, receives their report, tours Galilee, even to its northern environs, and develops the enthusiasm of this people in anticipation of the conflict in Jerusalem. These preparations made, He turns again southward for the Passover season.

Thereafter the two accounts run parallel, except as to the date of the crucifixion, which modern scholarship now agrees is correctly reported by the Jerusalem Gospel, thus unwillingly testifying to its peculiar authenticity.

The entire ministry of Jesus is thus comprehended under two years, and by fixing the Baptist's appearance at tabernacles in place of the Passover, it may even be shortened to eighteen months. But the whole scheme of the ministry is remarkably intelligible, and events move with masterly determination. The ministry becomes a campaign, in which every change of base has a reason, and the whimsical and desultory wanderings as commonly conceived become ordered and important movements.

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Thus the argument from chronology, instead of being against the present analysis, is in reality one of the most elaborate bits of evidence in its favor.

It remains then to account for the fact that the ground work of the Synoptics ignores the data presented in the Jerusalem Gospel in large degree. It is, however, to be borne in mind that the inference from this fact can not be pressed too far, or else it will prove too much. The clear implication of the Ur-Marcus is that there was a Judæan ministry. Why then does the Ur-Marcus ignore it? Not why does it ignore an account of that ministry, but why does it ignore the fact? Thus whether we postulate the Jerusalem Gospel as an early document or not, we have much the same problem. It might be an answer to this question to say that, since these events had been adequately presented, it was unnecessary for the writer of the Ur-Marcus to renarrate them. Thus the present hypothesis becomes an element in a rational explanation of the situation. But the real reason for this restriction of the Ur-Marcus becomes apparent when we examine its nature and real character. After the briefest introduction of Jesus in His relation to John the Baptist, the narrative passes to the definite calling of the men who were to be trained for discipleship. Thereafter these men are in con-

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tinuous evidence. The narrative centers in their association with the Master. Practically everything which is recorded transpires in their presence. It is nothing other than a "Narrative of The Twelve."* In accordance with these limitations, the record omits the adventures of The Twelve when apart from Jesus, and likewise His experiences when away from them. Thus the Peræan ministry, of which Luke secured some items, is neglected, as also the intermediate Jerusalem activity. None the less the narrative recognizes the situation which these developments had produced. A Master who tells them of an impending crucifixion, is none other than One who has returned from an ineffectual effort to win the adherence of Zion.

The details of the account of the invasion of Jerusalem vary in important particulars; and here there is a real problem. It may be a sufficient answer to say that the variations are seldom contradictions; that the agreements are many and natural; that having begun an independent narrative, it may easily have seemed wise to write it to the end in the same spirit. In any event, the problem is less serious than the alternative one, which inquires on the supposition of the priority of the Synoptics, how the Jerusalem Gospel differed from their story.

* Note 20.

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In such a fashion does the divergence of the two accounts cease to have polemic power. It becomes rather a case for careful investigation by scholars; an investigation which must acknowledge the possibility of the interpretation here suggested, and give it equal consideration. So much must be expected in the light of the removal of the two powerful objections which have heretofore weighed so heavily against the historicity of the Fourth Gospel, but which are robbed of their power, as against the Jerusalem Gospel.

One further objection requires to be set in this new light. It has been urged that the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels is profoundly different from the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel. So far as this is to be urged against the idea of self-revelation embodied in the Oracles, it requires a special consideration; but even then it is only a question of a personality sufficiently broad to cover the contents of the two records. On the other hand, the manner and method of Jesus is now discerned to be the same. The so-called long discourses, breaking up into briefer Logia, which have the same characteristics of form as have the Logia of the Synoptics. There is no greater differences between the prosody of the Oracles and the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount than there is between these same precepts and the parables. We

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have indeed variety, but it is the variety of poetic genius. Close analysis shows that the verbal felicity and balanced phrases of the Oracles have the essential qualities of poetry as definitely as have the similes of the Logia.

In the Jerusalem Gospel, the use made of such poetic passages is closely akin to the use indicated in the Synoptics. The whole method is essentially the same, whether in the Galilean ministry of helpful exhortation, or in the Judæan campaign of controversy. And this hints at the difference in matter. In the one case His authority was accepted, and He was free to deliver His ethical message. In the other He was sharply challenged and thrown back upon the question of personality and position. Under these circumstances, a new element comes to the front. It is an easy matter for any one to magnify this inevitable difference in such a way as to make it appear an irreconcilable contrast. But the substance is supplemental, rather than diverse, and becomes an added evidence of authenticity.

Passing from the rebuttal of these several objections to the positive argument, it becomes convenient to present this under three main heads:

- 1.—The reconciliation of the traditions.
- 2.—The interpretation of the historical situation.
- 3.—The solution of the textual problem.

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The long tradition of the Church has assigned the authorship of the Fourth Gospel to the Apostle John. Polemical reasons first challenged this tradition, but the researches of scholars presently discriminated data in such a way as to raise the question from an unpartisan point of view. These researches pointed out the diverse nature of the earliest tradition. On the one hand, it was asserted by the earliest writers that John was a martyr to the fury of the Jews; on the other, that he lived to an old age as the resident Bishop of Ephesus. The contradiction of these traditions was naïvely bridged by the early Church by stories of his passing from the ordeal of death unscathed. This in itself is a certain confirmation of the earliest stories of his martyrdom.

The Ephesian story is in reality based upon two indisputable facts: The long residence in that city of a great Church leader named John,* a man who had seen the Lord, and who was held in the highest repute, is one of the evident truths of that far-off time. It is equally true that the Fourth Gospel was given to the world from the Ephesian circle. There was little else to do under these circumstances than to draw the conclusion that this Ephesian John was the apostle to whom the book was attributed, and

*Note 21.

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to reconcile the martyr tradition as best faith and credulity could contrive.

Heretofore it has seemed necessary to reject one or the other of these two traditions. The present hypothesis unites them in a natural way that explicates all the available data. It is to be borne in mind that early tradition affirms the writing of the Gospel before the apostles were scattered from Jerusalem. The implication of the passage which records this tradition, indicates an early date, indeed a date presumably antecedent to any other Gospel writing. The passage in question is from the Muratorian Fragment, and reads as follows:

"When his fellow disciples and bishops exhorted him, he said, 'Fast with me for three days from to-day, and let us tell one another what may be revealed to any one of us.' That very night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John was to narrate all in his own name, while they were all to revise it."

It is quite possible to deny the authority of this passage and to scout it as a late tradition, but it is difficult to see how those who do so can at the same time attach great importance to other statements in the same document. The document, however, has a high rank as evidence of the canon, and is generally conceived in sober terms. At the very least, it attests the acceptance of a tradition for the Judæan authorship of the Book. Its contravention to the Ephesian theory, long dominant,

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indicates that it is an early survival, rather than a late fabrication.

It is, however, at once evident that the conception of the Jerusalem Gospel, written, first of all the records, by the Apostle John, prior to the scattering of the apostles, and perhaps even prior to the persecution under Saul of Tarsus, completely interprets the tradition. Even the conception of the apostle's martyrdom at the hands of the Jews does not invalidate, but confirms the hypothesis. Whatever accretions might come with the years, it would remain John's Gospel, more truly so than in the case of Matthew, who only mediated the Logia of his Master.

Under any hypothesis as to origin, it is conceded that such accretions occurred, the several theories varying only as to their extent. It is also evident from the language of the Gospel that it was issued in its present form after the death of the one who composed its ground work. It has, under the theory of the Ephesian John, been conceived that the writer of the appendix was personally connected with the real author, and from his personal knowledge could vouch for its authenticity. This voucher is in itself significant. It is on the face of it the authentication of a document which, for one or another reason, has not been known by the general public among whom it is about to circulate.

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If the Jerusalem Gospel, after the lapse of time, had been rescued from comparative obscurity and given a Greek dress, such language could not have been more appropriate. But the personal relation between the editor and the writer need not have been recent. Quite conceivably, there may have been an interim of decades even. There is nothing apparent except the fact that the beloved disciple has passed away, and that this friend asserts his authorship. Thus the earliest of all the traditions accords with the theory of the early writing of a portion of the book.

But the editorial work was of intense importance. Not only were certain tracts of a narrative character incorporated in the text, but following the analogy of Matthew, certain Oracles of Jesus were also fused with the Gospel story, and these Oracles were such as had not till then been widely available, but circulating mainly within the inner circle of the disciples. A book which gave them a wide circulation among the Gentile Churches would date from this period, rather than from its earlier antecedents. Thus beyond question the Gospel according to John would come into its own from the time of its promulgation at Ephesus. This association would be a sufficient basis for the tradition of the writing the book in that place.

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The tradition becomes inevitable when it is recognized that there was in Asia Minor a second John, living in such repute as pertained to one who had seen the Lord. That this man was engaged in literary activity, seems entirely clear; that he may have had a hand in fashioning the Gospel, is quite possible. Granting, for the sake of imaginative reconstruction of a possible situation, that he in the days of his Palestinian life had been an intimate of the Apostle John, that in any event he had come to appreciate and to treasure the Jerusalem Gospel and the Oracles of the Master, that as a man of literary instinct he had made his collection of the Gospel tracts, perhaps had written some of them, certainly was familiar with the oral traditions which had the Jerusalem flavor, that such a man became in due time resident in Ephesus or elsewhere in Asia Minor, writes the Apocalypse, and rises to literary deanship of the Church in the new land. As he nears the end of his course, he thinks to render one other service to the Church. Accordingly, he compiles the several documents in his possession, causes them to be rendered into better Greek than he himself can write, and with the most solemn assurance of their apostolic authority and authenticity, sends the new book forth to the ecclesiastical world.

In such an hypothesis, doing violence to no

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statement of antiquity, affording a basis for the confusion of the two Johns which has actually taken place, we have the explanation of the immediate acceptance of the Fourth Gospel by the Church, in spite of its notable difference from the three already in circulation among the Gentile Churches. Such acceptance of the book by the Churches is in itself a strong evidence of the genuineness of the ascription to the apostle.

In such a wise does the hypothesis which has developed from the literary analysis of the Book reconcile the conflicting statements of tradition. On the basis of the Ephesian publication of the Fourth Gospel, one party has assumed an Ephesian apostle, and done despite to certain tradition. On the same basis, another party has denied apostolic authorship, and conserved the tradition of his martyrdom at the expense of his authority as an evangelist. Now it appears that all traditions may be conserved and every vital fact of apostolic authority for the Gospel be preserved. This would seem to set any hypothesis so accomplishing such results in a favorable light before the critical scholarship of the Church.

The second general argument centers in the interpretation of historical situations. By this is meant the light which the present theory throws upon situations which are otherwise

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obscure or even enigmatic. The particular situations which are thus illumined are eight in number, and may be considered in chronological sequence:

- 1.—The formal teaching of Jesus.
- 2.—The cause of His death.
- 3.—The new attitude of worship.
- 4.—The earliest apologetic.
- 5.—The definiteness of Apostolic teaching.
- 6.—The origin of the Pauline idea.
- 7.—The development of Christian literature.
- 8.—The acceptance of the Fourth Gospel.

Each of these problems is of prime importance, and the uncertainty concerning them has been a chief source of confusion, and a cause of the divisions among critics and historians. It is not too much to say that to attain definiteness concerning the series of events is practically to determine the manner and course of early Christian history. This has heretofore been so largely Pauline as to set that great soul in comparative rivalry with the Christ whom he served with all the ardor of his passionate heart. The injustice to Paul by such an interpretation is scarcely less than the unfairness to the other contributors to the great developments of those days.

1. THE FORMAL TEACHING OF JESUS.

The Gospels unite in the presentation of Jesus as a great Teacher, a Rabbi recognized of men; one whose word possessed an authority

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which was self-derived, and which set Him in constant conflict with the mere commentators and legalists of His time. The common people heard Him gladly; many treasured up His thought and questioned Him concerning it. His disciples were drawn to Him in close attendance that they might master His "Gospel." He Himself attached great importance to His "word." This is not the view of one interpreter, but of all the Gospel writers. Since this was the case, it becomes a problem of great historical importance to determine the form of that teaching. The vaguest conceptions have been current. It has commonly been conceived that this teaching was but casual, and that His disciples remembered such of it as they chanced to be able, and after His death gave currency to their reminiscences. But this is quite to ignore the actual record itself. This shows that the Master urged the committing of His "words" to memory. How could this be achieved unless they were definitely and formally expressed? It shows that the disciples consulted Him with reference to the interpretation of certain Logia, and did this by reference to its opening lines,* quite as one may refer to well-known hymns in such a fashion. It shows a further tendency in the later years to refer to the words of Jesus as to definitely recognized

*Note 22.

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body of truth. These attitudes are not consonant with the idea that the teaching of Jesus was merely casual and ephemeral in form.

So also when we consider the tremendous transcendent and transforming ethical power of the teaching of Jesus, as evidenced by the lives of His followers, we hesitate to attribute this to the mere reminiscences of a few devoted friends. There is evident the careful conformity to a definite body of ethical teaching, which is the cause and not the result of such living. The whole situation requires the recognition of definite teaching of Jesus, and this can only be assured on the basis of the careful composition of His formal utterance.

Nor is it conceivable that having such carefully composed literary expressions, they should have been ignored by His disciples and handed down in merest fragments, so that in order to get a view of His real teaching, critics are compelled with what indescribable labor and ingenuity to piece together His Oracles from the several records, eliminating here and adding there, and surmising this or conjecturing that. On the contrary, such discipleship as the record evidences held the Master in such a reverence that His words became to them sacred Oracles, and instantly assumed parity with the Scriptures of their race. We have a right to expect their preservation in reasonable entirety and

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with a survival of form which shall authenticate them to us. This expectation is met for the first time in the hypothesis which is here presented.

2. THE CAUSE OF THE DEATH OF JESUS.

In the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus appears as the successful prophet of Galilee, practically at all times in high favor with the people; an ethical Teacher, whose stringent morality might shame the hierarchy, but whose truths could not be denied; so far as He conflicts with the Pharisees, it is as a satirist, whose attacks might sting, but were scarcely worthy of deadly opposition. At the head of a jubilant following, He appears at Jerusalem, engages in public controversy with the Judæan authorities, and within the week is put to death.

There is no intimation of the passions which justified this deadly hostility; no indication of the steady antagonism grown through the months to such huge proportions as to become a national issue. The whole presentation presupposes a knowledge of other chapters of history. When, however, the Jerusalem Gospel is read, the drama becomes clear, and with the steady movement of fateful forces, it proceeds to its dreadful climax. There is from the first the setting of Himself above the traditions of the scribes and the Pharisees, the challenging

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of accepted customs, the assertion in controversy of His divine commission, the gradual unveiling of His Messianic claims, the straight issue which threatens the supremacy of the priesthood. We see the malignant working of the opposition; His outlawry with a price on His head; His high courage and the daring of His plans, as well as the magnificent sweep of His final campaign. The picture is complete. It is the more complete for the elimination on literary grounds of the retarding incidents which complicate the presentation of natural sequences and intrude later conceptions in the foreground of the narrative.

Under these circumstances, we no longer wonder at the development of history; it is all so natural, so compelling, as to be beyond the imaginative powers of any writer. Jesus appears as the great Protagonist of a tragedy incalculably great. To conceive that this interpretation was supplied after the lapse of decades, is to trifle with verities. It is to substitute an enigma for what is otherwise one of the clearest and most definite presentments of history. It is to create a problem where none was before.

The issue of events is unquestioned. Under one view, the stream of influence which flows in so broad a tide through Galilee becomes suddenly subterranean, until it issues at the foot of the cross in a ruddy flood that flows

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undiminished across the ages. Under the other view, the turbulent waters gather and dash and foam across the pages of controversy. The whole course is clear.

3. THE ATTITUDE OF WORSHIP.

It is quite evident that the earliest records of the Church show the Christians to be characterized by an attitude of worship of Jesus. There may indeed be some controversy as to the measure of this conception, as to the exact date when He became recognized as a part of the Godhead; but none the less, the very earliest attitude of the Christians clearly recognized the divinity of Jesus. Here is a transition from the presentation of the Synoptic Gospels. Through their pages He moves with a gracious mien indeed, endowed with supernatural powers, the expected Messiah of His race. But from this it is a far cry to an attitude which bows before Him in genuine worship. This also is an historical problem which requires explication.

It does not help to say that divinity was an easily attained conception in a pagan age, when emperors were deified and great men of every kind were esteemed demi-gods. These disciples were free from the touch of paganism; they were trained in the traditions of the Jews, with the long roll of martyrs to the idea of monotheism; they had the pure ethical teaching of

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their Master; they were at the antipodes of paganism. Yet it is precisely these men, who exalt One with whom they had been on terms of the most homely intimacy, to the highest Deity which their minds could conceive. Nor is this change gradual; it seems to have reached its climax in a few weeks after the crucifixion. The juxtaposition with this event makes the achievement all the more significant.

Commonly the explanation which has seemed to suffice has been that the resurrection wrought this marvelous change. Nor is this influence to be in any way minimized. But it may be doubted whether the resurrection as a mere fact could have been adequate. He would then have appeared to His disciples as a risen Teacher, a glorified Messiah, a promise of immortality. But between these things and divinity there is no necessary connection. It was an inference too great for the mind of any Jew.

But when the Oracles of self-revelation are recognized as being for the first time understood under the new conditions, when we see that what had seemed merely a "dark saying" to puzzle the mind of the disciples, now became luminous and significant; when to the sayings already common property are added posthumous Oracles mediated through His intimately loved friend, the Apostle John; when the burden of the soul declaration is His own

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divine personality, then it becomes clear that the attitude of worship was not only natural, but inevitable.

It is precisely because of this that the Fourth Gospel has been subject to such tremendous critical attack. The implications of the Book have been so high, that to those who wished freedom from accepting their authority there was no alternative but an attack upon the authority of the text itself. Under the present hypothesis, these high utterances are brought to the very lips of Jesus Himself, without the intervention of human modifications. They fitly interpret the enigma of Christian worship.

4. THE EARLIEST APOLOGETIC.

Very early in the history of the Christian Church the records tell of a striking scene, in which the leading apostles are confronted by the high priest with this charge:

"Behold you have filled Jerusalem with your teaching, and intend to bring this Man's blood upon us." But Peter and the apostles answered. "We must obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom you slew, hanging Him on a tree. Him did God exalt with His right hand, a Prince and a Savior, to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins. And we are witnesses of these things, and the Holy Spirit, whom God has given to them that obey Him."

This is typical of the earliest apologetic. It presents a situation in which emphasis is

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placed upon the responsibility of the hierarchy for the death of Jesus, and contrasts therewith His favor with God. It is the mental attitude of the Jerusalem Gospel; so much so, in fact, that the words from the Book of Acts might well be used as an introduction to the Gospel narrative. It is significant also that only at this period could the Church have had the keen interest in these details. When men were viewing Jesus primarily as the Messiah, the question uppermost in the minds of any convert would be, How came the Messiah to be crucified at the instigation of the leaders of the nation? To answer this, such a narrative would be forthcoming: Tracing the relations of Jesus to the priests, and leaving out of consideration the popular aspects of His ministry. It would naturally deal with the events transpiring in Jerusalem, and would scarcely more than recognize the fact of the Galilean ministry. This is an almost inevitable first phase of presentation of the Master's life. Never again did the elements so focus themselves as to render a Jerusalem Gospel a natural product of the situation. To conceive it as being written in an alien land, with its wealth of detail concerning the then vanished sacred city, is to imagine a *tour de force* of the most remarkable kind.

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5. THE DEFINITENESS OF APOSTOLIC TEACHING.

The apostolic group consisted of eleven men of pronounced personality, whose relations to the Master had been of a varied character. Each of these possessed a teaching authority in his own right. There was a natural subordination to Peter and John; but this was by mutual consent, and not of authority. The status of Peter and John is itself suggestive. The former was the recognized leader of the group and had been the spokesman when they reported the results of the mission in Galilee. He might have been expected to continue in such a relation. But the sharing of his position with the youngest of the group requires an explanation. This is at hand on the supposition that John mediated the Oracles of self-revelation of the Master, and out of his personal intimacy was able to add posthumous sayings which illumined the situation, and became basic to the new conception of the Master.

We are compelled to postulate an objective expression of the Master's truth in order to explain the solidarity of influence of the apostolic group. Had they been thrown back upon personal reminiscence, each man must have insisted upon his own, with the result that sooner or later there would have arisen divisions in

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the following of the several leaders. Precisely this occurs so soon as Paul comes to leadership. But on the whole, the unity of impression and of ethical teaching is remarkable. But if it be understood that the teaching of Jesus had assumed such a form that it was for them only to deliver it to others, then the mystery becomes a commonplace.

6. THE ORIGIN OF THE PAULINE IDEA.

The relation of the Pauline idea to that of the Jerusalem Church is an intensely interesting study. The present issue deals with his conception of Jesus. The great apostle to the Gentiles has beggared language in expressing the Deity of Jesus; he has exalted Him to identity with the Godhead. Wherein was his warrant for such a conception? On the one hand, it has been contended that he originated this interpretation of Jesus as a result of his own initial vision. On the other, it is to be noted that he scarcely, in his highest flights, overtops the expressions used in the Oracles of Jesus. The first preaching* of the converted Saul is said to have centered in this idea, and this before he had opportunity to mature a theology of his own. Under these circumstances it may be assumed that he simply gave affirmative expression to views which he had pre-

*Acts 9: 20.

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viously combated. He was thoroughly conversant with the ideas of the new faith, and the psychology of the situation implies that he accepted it without reservation; nor could he have had the audacity to begin immediate and vital modification. It appears, indeed, that his preaching was acceptable to the Jerusalem Church, and that neither then nor after was an issue raised on what must have been the most significant of all his innovations, unless it had been merely the ampler expression of what the Church in general believed.

That the Church in its earliest stages accepted this interpretation of Jesus, we have seen reason to believe. What it is important now to note, is the fashion in which the one situation merges into the other. How completely the problem disappears the moment we conceive definite Oracles framed by Jesus Himself, which express His eternal relations? Under these circumstances, the solution of what is otherwise a problem of the greatest historic intricacy, becomes an element in the argument.

7. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

The facts under this head have been already noted. It has been customary to slur these facts and to give them a minimum place in the picture of the Christian Church. The apostolic

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group is conceived to have been largely illiterate and incapable of producing a great literature; therefore such literature must be of a second generation. So runs the argument. But it hurdles many a notable fact in its course. The use of songs and hymns and spiritual songs at an early date is attested;* the existence of varied narratives of the life of the Master is asserted;† the literary quality of the productions that have survived is extraordinary—far higher in fact than that of the succeeding generations.‡ It has simplicity and grace and power, which are the trinity of attributes of all immortal literature. The rise of such a literature is an enigma under the ordinary interpretation of events. But under the conception that the Master was Himself a man of letters, using the noblest forms of literature with great distinction; that He made such uses a cardinal element in His propaganda; that His nearest friends possessed this ability in some degree, and were taught by His example. On such a supposition the whole situation becomes one of orderly development; the mystery disappears. Christianity is seen to be a literary movement, as definitely as many of its later extraordinary manifestations. This accounts for its solidarity; for the uniform and definite impressions which

* Col. 3:16.

† Luke 1:1.

‡ Cf. Ignatian Epistles.

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it made everywhere that it flourished. In short, the whole Gospel story is woven of the same fabric.

8. THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

Critical analysis now finds evidence in unsuspected quarters that the Fourth Gospel was widely circulated in its present form as early as the year 110. Its promulgation in the final form could hardly have occurred much earlier than the last decade of the previous century. Therefore it is clear that it sprung into immediate prominence and into acceptance with the Church. When its marked variation from the Synoptic group is considered, this seems an achievement which requires an explanation. The most natural explanation that can be offered is this: That the Gospel contained documents previously recognized as authoritative. It was, in fact, the literary contribution of the Mother Church to the Gentile children. Reasons which had in the earlier years rendered desirable the independence of the Gentiles from these Jerusalem influences had disappeared. The Mother Church had been driven from its habitation; it was a wanderer on the face of the earth, and came for lodging to the houses of its children. Judaism could never again threaten the liberty of the Gentile Christians. So these gifts which

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the brethren from Jerusalem brought with them were greatly welcome. So soon as they were given proper form for currency among the Gentiles, they secured an instant acceptance. Here were the treasures of the Master's revelation which had been embodied in such ritual as the years had developed and as the norm of all theological thinking. These which had been too lofty for the babes of the earlier day, were now appropriated with avidity by the strong thinkers who were molding the philosophy of the new faith.

Here again the present hypothesis offers a solution of a problem whose intricacy must tax the ingenuity of the advocates of a fabricated Fourth Gospel. The evident compilation under semi-Grecian influences sufficiently accounts for all the later manner and matter. But the great soul of the Book is authoritative and original with Jesus Himself.

In this presentation of the argument from the solution of the problem of history it has not been intended to present the detailed data which justify the several positions taken, but merely to afford such a relating of the hypothesis to the several historical situations as would justify the conception that the hypothesis is itself in the direction of simplicity. That it resolves difficulties is a proof of the same type as tends to the acceptance of the several the-

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ories which come up from time to time in the domain of natural science. In its cumulative effect, such evidence is the highest attainable proof.

The third line of argument centers in the solution of the textual problem. This is broader than the relation of the various elements of the Fourth Gospel to one another. It deals with the development of the several Gospels, and their mutual relations. The argument calls for such a detailed examination of many passages by many scholars. In this stage of the hypothesis it can only be suggested. For example, the relation of the non-Markan passages in Luke and Matthew is a matter of importance. The tendency in certain schools of criticism is to postulate a document common to both texts, and containing only such matter as appears in common or whose derivations and antecedents are in evidence.* The critical examination of the text shows almost uniformly the superiority of Matthew. But instead of using this to suggest that the Matthæan text in its entirety may have been the original, the critics confine themselves to a meager Matthew as substantiated by the repudiated Luke, thus reversing their logic. The present study which traces the parellelism in Matthew adds a new

**The Sayings of Jesus.* Harnack. Pp. 115, 117.

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and important instrument of critical investigation. It suggests that Luke is a memetic and localized account of the sayings which Matthew preserved with such fidelity. The tangled skein becomes unraveled in the light of this hypothesis. The many significant clues must indeed be followed to their end, but the clarifying of the general situation and the substituting of broad and discernible relations for the critical minutiae which in the past has been made to serve every shade of opinion, is a substantiating achievement worthy of consideration as a positive argument.

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NOTE 1, PAGE 11.

The present thesis is a combination of elements which, separably, have had abundant recognition. The elements of simile and felicity of phrase which abound in the teachings of Jesus have led not a few writers to speak of the poetry of Jesus. But they have done this in an accommodated sense, as men might call Carlyle a dramatic poet. So, also, some of the Logia have been discriminated and their parallelism recognized; but heretofore it has failed to receive careful examination.

NOTE 2, PAGE 12.

The prevalence of the Greek language may be fully recognized without implying its use by either Jesus or His disciples or in the early Church. Every indication restricts the earliest gospel literature to the dialect of Palestine; and it emerged into the Greek only through definite translation. This is the more evident from a study of the "source" of the Synoptic Gospels.

NOTE 3, PAGE 19.

The exact length of the passages which are here discriminated is: Matthæan Logia, 455; Parables, 543; Oracles, 445; Fragments, 536; total, 1,979 lines.

NOTE 4, PAGE 26.

Recent discoveries show that the folio form of books had come into use much earlier than has been under-

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stood. It is probable that the wax tablet form was used for the briefer memorabilia and epistles. This would involve but two leaves of papyrus, and matches excellently many of the literary survivals. A page of the size commonly used would receive from one hundred to one hundred and seventy-five or eighty Greek words; and many memoranda are uniformly of the contents of a page. This is particularly true of the Capernaum document.

NOTE 5, PAGE 32.

The geographical characteristics are elaborately discussed by Westcott & Hort in the notes accompanying their edition of the New Testament.

NOTE 6, PAGE 63.

The folklore element in the Old Testament is especially conspicuous. In this connection it is notable that lacking tales of ancestral heroes of their own, Bible stories have tended to take their place for the American people. It creates a situation of mixed psychological and literary power. Early English bards frequently used these themes as substitutes for their own heroic tales.

NOTE 7, PAGE 85.

The common authorship of the Incidents of "The Samaritan Woman" and of "The Bread of Life," is very expressively shown by the analysis of their contents and dialectic, as presented by recent authors.

Jesus refers the Samaritan woman to the water of eternal life.

Jesus refers the Jews to the heavenly bread of eternal life.

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She refers to the ancestral well from which her fathers had drunk.

But the true water of life comes from Jesus.

She asks for it.

The food of Jesus—obedience to the Father who has sent Him.

—*Introduction to Literature of New Testament, Moffatt,*
p. 529.

They refer to the manna which their fathers had eaten.

But the true bread of life is Jesus Himself.

They ask for it.

The object of Jesus to execute the will of the Father who sent Him.

But this interesting analysis may easily be pressed too far. The parallel is probably due to the unconscious working of the mind, rather than to a deliberate scheme. Both incidents, being interpolations and of a late date, there is no difficulty in recognizing the artificial influences in their production. But this can not weigh against the early writing of the text into which they are interpolated.

NOTE 8, PAGE 89.

The suggestion that many of the memorable and the longer incidents were written by Philip, has much to commend it. The name by which he was known, the "Evangelist," has its best interpretation in such a fact. He was in touch with the situation in Jerusalem from the earliest years of the Church. His interest in the Samaritans is clear; and his broad vision of Christianity appears in several instances. Luke was in contact with him at a later date, and may easily have secured special material which he has used in his Gospel and in the book of Acts. Tradition reports that he finally moved to Asia Minor, and so would have been in touch

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with the Ephesian circle, from which the final Fourth Gospel emanated. There are some reasons to suppose that the Apostle Philip has been confused with him in these later years. His life and activities meet the conditions of authorship.

NOTE 9, PAGE 101.

This passage reveals one of the curious happenings in connection with transcription. An entire page or column of matter has been omitted by inadvertence, and carried over. It appears in Chapter 7, but in an awkward connection; when it is brought again to its place, the connection is vividly restored. The break takes place in the midst of a Logion. When other Logia were interpolated, this broken Logion seems to be absorbed. But the verse form and the person of the interpolated Logia are different, and the original Logion is left as an unassimilated element. But it matches perfectly with a similar passage which begins the column that had been misplaced. So it becomes possible to restore the original connection. As the Gospel now stands, the passage would have been removed six or eight pages, which could not have been done by clerical error. But the interpolated material is very extensive, and when this is removed from the text, the broken parts are brought quite near. The intervening portion on this supposition is in length almost identical with the portion which has been transposed. It seems clearly a case of transposing two columns of matter, and throws light upon the character of the MS. and the style of hand writing.

NOTE 10, PAGE 144.

The incident of the "Centurion's Servant" has been by some recent scholars assigned to "Q." Harnack

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notes that in his restoration of that text that it has precisely the same sequence in both the Matthæan and Lukan versions. The force of this argument is nullified by the fact that in the restored "Narrative of The Twelve" this incident occurs in the identical sequence in both versions. Its literary affinities and textual characteristics further relate it to this document, while the hypothetical "Q" becomes increasingly elusive.

NOTE 11, PAGE 197.

Inasmuch as the Matthæan Logia present textual problems dependent in part upon the Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, and in part upon a study of the text of the hypothetical document in which they were originally compiled, it has not been deemed wise to attempt a thoroughly critical presentation until these studies were completed. The controlling influence at this time has been literary; and under its operation certain briefer passages have been classed as "Fragments," without prejudicing the question as to their original position. For the purpose of the present argument, it suffices to show their genuine poetic form.

NOTE 12, PAGES 199, 224, 226.

The twelve and fourteen-line poems seem to have been especially common, and to have had a technique of their own. In point of fact, they approach the "sonnet" in the nature of their poetical composition. They are used with peculiar effect in a number of the parables. This and kindred matters belong to a study of the poetical technique of Jesus, a field that is extremely inviting.

NOTE 13, PAGE 220.

The stanza structure, which is usually a conclusive guide, would indicate that we have here a second poem

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on the same theme. But the refrain and general character is so similar that it has seemed wise in this instance to present the two parts together. There can be no doubt that Jesus frequently developed more than one poem on the same theme; though seldom, if ever, with the same phrases.

NOTE 14, PAGE 243.

In a number of instances the parables begin with a title, which is sometimes incorporated into the first line of the parable, and at other times is independent thereof. Each case requires to be settled apart from a general rule.

NOTE 15, PAGE 245.

The lines,

“Let us eat and make merry,”

And they began to make merry,

occur at the close of the second part of the poem. They constitute a distinct variation from the verse scheme. It so happens that the lines which close the third part, likewise constitute a variation; but the two variations, when brought together, work out a harmony. This has seemed reason enough for the transposition, which is further commended by the fact that the preceding lines seem also to have been transferred at some stage of the transcription. Against this may be argued the striking climax which is thereby introduced. Critics will be divided as to the artistic merits of this suggested ending.

NOTE 16, PAGES 265, 322.

One very plausible explanation of the survival and use of certain oracles, is in connection with the Love Feasts. It appears to have been the custom for the

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“Episcopos” to be seated central to the Presbyters, himself representing Jesus, and they the disciples; and so to present a quasi liturgy. The use of Logia on such occasions was altogether natural. Certain Logia, such as this, may have come into a recognized association through such processes. Cf. Ignatian Epistles.

NOTE 17, PAGE 334.

Editorial comment which follows is of a distinctly later date, insisting upon the foreknowledge of Jesus respecting Judas. But the contest makes it very clear that the term “disciples” is inclusive of more than The Twelve, and that the reference at this point is to the partial alienation of His popular following.

NOTE 18, PAGE 335.

The only sense in which this expression can be adequately interpreted is with reference to “literature,” and the wonder is at his mastery of literary form.

NOTE 19, PAGE 336.

We have at this point another case of transposition. The order as it occurs in the second text is an anti-climax. The incident of the sending of the officers to arrest Jesus has a unity that is broken by the present usual order. The intervening passage is of the length of a column, as shown by the other transposition (Note 9); when it is so treated and placed immediately before, there is a great gain in narrative force.

NOTE 20, PAGE 388.

“The Narrative of The Twelve” falls into two parts, evidencing separate literary and textual qualities. The first part concludes with “the Transfiguration,” and is

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characterized as a series of memorabilia, loosely brought together. These memorabilia were originally of uniform length, and were in Aramaean. Subsequently they were differently translated for Matthew and Mark. Later on Luke followed the Markan version. The second part of the "Narrative" is continuously written, also in Aramaean. It is of a later date. The two documents doubtless came into association before their translation into Greek.

NOTE 21, PAGE 391.

The ease with which distinguished Christians might be identified with the apostolic group, is evident from the fact, (a) the term apostle was itself flexible, and applied to other than "The Twelve;" (b) confused traditions of martyrdom attest local beliefs in several apostles of the same name; (c) in Asia Minor confusion arose concerning John and Philip. A man "who had seen the Lord" would, toward the end of the century, be held in special reverence, and this "visual contact" might be a sufficient basis for inferring identity with the immediate discipleship. The tendency to exalt a beloved leader is well known. Witness in "Tom Brown's School Days" the identification by the boys of their "Brooke" with a wholly supposititious "Midshipman Brooke," on board the famed *H. M. S. Shannon*.

NOTE 22, PAGE 398.

A few natural instances are sufficient to establish the point; reference is made to the text of the "Jerusalem Gospel," pp. 341, 345, and 346.

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